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THE COMING OF THE ARYANS TO IRAN AND INDIA AND THE CULTURAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITY OF THE DĀSAS

Introductory remarks

Archaeological[1] data, textual sources and linguistic evidence have preserved different aspects of antiquity. Each of these sources requires its own special methods of study, and yields a limited reconstruction of the past. The various reconstructions may overlap in one or more basic aspects: time, space, content, and external relationships. These partial overlaps may be sufficient for a correct correlation. As the different sources usually provide complementary information, their integration will produce new knowledge. Texts and languages can be dated and located with the help of archaeology, and material remains can be interpreted with the help of texts and vice versa.

There are many pitfalls and difficulties, of course, of which one must be aware.[2] But if the case has reasonable chances of success, we should attempt an integrated hypothesis that in the best possible way fits in with the facts. Quite apart from possible omissions, misunderstandings and logical errors, no such higher level reconstruction can ever claim finality. New excavations and analyses are constantly refining our understanding of archaeological cultures, and similar changes in our knowledge are being brought about by newly discovered texts, languages, etymologies, and so forth. Indeed,

[1] This long article has grown out of a paper read at the 7th World Sanskrit Conference held in Leiden on 23-29 August 1987. At the kind invitation of Professor Robert Coleman, a revised version was delivered at the Indo-European Seminar, Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge, on 2 December 1987. This talk (on which I received useful comments from Dr Harry Falk in Freiburg) was prompted by Prof. Colin Renfrew's paper on "Indo-European origins: Implications of a processual approach", read on the preceding session of the seminar on 11 November 1987. The etymology of **śambara** and related issues were developed after a fruitful discussion with Mr Harry Halén, Lic.Phil. (Helsinki) in May 1988. Prof. C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, with whom I discussed the theme in London in July 1988, kindly drew my attention to Prof. V. I. Sarianidi's recent finds at Togolok-21. I am deeply obliged to Prof. Sarianidi (Moscow) for sending me offprints. From other colleagues, I should like to single out Dr Juha Janhunen (Helsinki), Prof. Karl Jettmar (Heidelberg), Prof. Jorma Koivulehto (Helsinki) and Prof. Giorgio Stacul (Trieste) as having helped me to write this paper with their offprints and advice. I have profited much from discussions with Dr Bertil Tikkanen and from his lectures on South Asian areal linguistics at the University of Helsinki in the autumn of 1988. Mrs Virpi Hämeen-Anttila, B.A., has patiently and skilfully drawn the maps in figs. 1-3, 6, 17 and 32-34 according to my specifications. My best thanks are due also to Dr Jane R. McIntosh (Cambridge) and to Dr Robert Whiting and Mrs Margaret Whiting, M.Phil., (Helsinki) for kindly checking my English and giving useful suggestions, to the copyright holders of the illustrations, to the Finnish Oriental Society for publishing this paper. I dedicate it to Wilhelm Rau with belated felicitations.

[2] On methodology, see especially the issue 8.1 (1977) of *World Archaeology* devoted to "Archaeology and linguistics", and now also Renfrew 1987 and the reviews of this book.

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exciting archaeological discoveries have been made since 1973, when I first made an attempt of this kind.[3] So, a revision is called for.

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In my considered view, the Indus script renders a Dravidian language.[4] However, the hypothesis that an early form of Indo-Aryan was spoken already by the people of the Indus Civilization (or Mature Harappan culture, c. 2600-2000 B.C.) has its supporters, especially in India;[5] they claim that the Aryan languages did not come to the subcontinent from outside but have always been there.[6] In his bold new book, *Archaeology and language*,[7] Colin Renfrew has given some weight to this view by suggesting that Indo-European speakers may have brought agriculture from Anatolia to Baluchistan already by 6000 B.C.[8] Yet the archaeological evidence from Mehrgarh, the key site in the Kachi plain near Quetta occupied continuously from the 7th to 3rd millennium B.C., points to indigenous domestication of plants and animals in Baluchistan.[9] Were this not so, it seems in any case hardly tenable that the Near Eastern agricultural groups from which Mehrgarh might be supposed to derive were Indo-European speakers.[10]

A major reason against assuming that the Harappans spoke an Indo-European language is that the horse is not represented among the many realistically depicted animals of the Harappan seals and figurines.[11] Comprehensive recent bone analyses by one of the best experts, Richard Meadow, have yielded the conclusion that there is no clear osteological evidence of the horse (*Equus caballus*) in the Indian subcontinent prior to c. 2000 B.C.[12] Obviously the Aryans are not likely to have been present in India in large numbers before about 2000 B.C., if the horse played a central role in their life.

There is, then, some reason to begin by reviewing a few well known arguments supporting the traditional view, according to which (1) the Aryans came to India sometime during the second millennium B.C. and (2) the Proto-Aryan homeland was situated in

[3] Cf. Parpola 1974.

[4] A major monograph on this subject is forthcoming. In the meanwhile, see the summaries in Parpola 1975, 1986, 1988.

[5] E.g. Rao 1982, devastatingly but justly reviewed by Mahadevan (1982); for a review of three attempts at deciphering the Indus script as Indo-Aryan, see Norman 1984.

[6] Cf. Emeneau 1980: 85; Shaffer 1984.

[7] This book has already created a lot of discussion, and thus performed a useful function. While some reviewers are prepared, with some modifications, to accept Renfrew's principal thesis (e.g. Zvelebil & Zvelebil 1988), others are not (cf. Anthony & Wailes 1988; Gimbutas 1988; Coleman 1988; Mallory 1988). Cf. further Baldi (1988), Norman (1988), Diakonoff 1988 (not seen by me).

[8] Renfrew 1987: 178-210 (chapter 8: The early Indo-Iranian languages and their origins).

[9] Cf. Meadow 1984a, 1984b; Jarrige in press; Shaffer 1986.

[10] Cf. Anthony and Wailes 1988: 442, and also D'iakonov's (1984, 1985) and Gimbutas' (1985) criticism of Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1984, 1985a, 1985b, 1987), who place the original homeland of the Indo-Europeans in very much the same region as Renfrew.

[11] Sir John Marshall (1931: I, v & 28) called the Indus Civilization "Pre-Aryan" and pointed out that it probably did not know the horse.

[12] Cf. Jarrige & Santoni 1979: I, 404; Jarrige 1985b: 59.

the south Russian steppes. But first of all, let us note that there is one fairly secure starting point for archaeological and textuo-linguistic correlations.

The Painted Grey Ware and the Indo-Aryans of the later Vedic period

There is now considerable agreement[13] concerning the correlation of the archaeological complex characterized by the luxury ceramic called Painted Grey Ware (PGW) **(fig. 1)** and the culture of the later Vedic Aryans of the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra period[14] **(fig. 2)**. Indeed, all the three horizons, temporal, geographical and cultural, are compellingly parallel. The upper temporal limit for the PGW culture is between c. 1100 and 800 B.C., and the lower limit between c. 400 and 350 B.C. It flourished in a continuous zone stretching from the Punjab and the course of the Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī rivers to the middle Ganges region. The horse was an important animal; iron was used, although it appears to have been scarce at the early sites in the Punjab; and, in the early phase, the settlements were not cities but villages with impermanent huts as ordinary dwellings. The economy was based on cattle-raising and cultivation of rice, barley and wheat. No graves or burials have been found at any PGW site. Cremation, therefore, was perhaps the usual manner of disposing of the dead, as in the Vedic culture.[15]

Many of the PGW sites figure centrally in the Mahābhārata,[16] but the principal heroes of the epic, the Pāṇḍava brothers, are never mentioned in the Vedic texts of the Brāhmaṇa period, although some other persons appearing in the Mahābhārata are. The white skin-colour of the Pāṇḍavas, reflected in the names Pāṇḍu and Arjuna and the associated myths, together with their polyandry which is new in India but has parallels among the Saka tribes, suggests that they belonged to a new wave of Aryans, which had recently arrived in India. As kings called Paṇḍu and Pāṇḍya coming from Gujarat and the region of Mathurā were leading figures in the colonization of Sri Lanka and south India around the fifth century B.C., they and the Pāṇḍavas are likely to have a connection with the megalithic culture, which arrived in India, probably through Baluchistan, around 800 B.C. and thereafter gradually spread throughout south India.[17]

About 600 B.C., the PGW started being overlaid by the Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW), which continued being used until the first century B.C. **(fig.1)** The early NBPW, dated to c. 700 B.C., is a common denominator of the sites mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa,[18] and its spread from Bihar is undoubtedly associated with the emergence of the historical empire of Magadha.[19] The westward expansion of Magadha is a current

[13] Cf. e.g. Lal 1981a: 290; Gaur 1981: 329; Allchin & Allchin 1982: 315ff.; Thapar 1985: 148.

[14] For the Vedic culture, see especially Zimmer 1879 (Ṛgvedic period); Macdonell & Keith 1912; Mylius 1971 through 1978; and the works of Rau (1957 through 1983), who has carefully studied the textual evidence relating to material culture. For the Vedic literature, see especially Gonda 1975 & 1977, and for Vedic geography, Witzel 1987a.

[15] For the PGW, see especially Tripathi 1976. Cf. also Lal 1981a: 287-290; 1981b; Gaur 1981; Agrawal 1982: 251-256.

[16] Cf. Lal 1981b: 28-30.

[17] For a detailed argumentation, see Parpola 1984b: 450-463.

[18] Cf. Lal 1981b: 30-33.

[19] With its dated distribution, the NBPW may prove helpful in the study of the formation of the Pāli language and the spread of Jainism and Buddhism.

event in the Mahābhārata. The epic age thus corresponds to the late, fully urban phase of the PGW. Only very few towns are mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa texts, which therefore had been completed during the oldest phase of the PGW, before about 750 B.C.[20]

It has been unclear how exactly the PGW culture is linked with the cultures of northwest India, the Iranian plateau and Central Asia, and thus with the earliest Vedic period and its Indo-Iranian background. At most sites, the PGW has been found directly on virgin soil, but a few times stratified over a deposit of the Ochre Coloured Pottery (OCP), whose radiocarbon dates vary between 2600 and 1100 B.C. and which is known to be associated with the Copper Hoards of the Ganges valley. At Atranji-khera, the PGW overlays a Black-and-Red Ware (BRW), while at Jodhpur, the OCP is stratified under the BRW and this in turn under the PGW. At Bhagwanpura, the PGW overlays a Late Harappan settlement. Each of these cultures has been supposed to have been Aryan speaking by some scholars while others have denied these identifications.[21] "Unless fresh data come, it is futile to go further into these polemics."[22] Therefore, we shall approach the problem from a different angle.

The Aryans and the Indo-Europeans as horsemen

The rulers of the Hurrian-speaking kingdom of Mitanni in northern Syria (**fig. 3**) bore names of Aryan etymology between about 1500 and 1300 B.C. For example, the name **Tu(i)š(e)ratta** has its counterpart in Vedic **tveṣá-ratha-** (< ***tvaiša-ratha**) 'having an impetuous chariot' (ṚS 5,61,13). The Indo-Aryan deities Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Nāsatyā, who are all mentioned together in Ṛgveda 10,125,1, are invoked after 104 other oath deities at the end of a Mitanni treaty.[23] The textbook on the training of chariot horses written in Hittite by a Mitannian called Kikkuli contains several technical terms that have unanimously been considered to be of Aryan etymology. Clearest instances are the numbers (**a-i-ka-**, **ti-e-ra-**, **pa-an-za-**, **ša-at-ta-**, **na-a-**, cf. Vedic **éka** < ***aika-** 1, **tri-** 3, **páñca-** 5, **saptá-** 7, **náva-** 9) compounded with **va-ar-ta-an-na-** 'round' (cf. Vedic **vart-** 'to turn'[24]). Other examples are **papru-nnu** or **babru-nnu**, **pinkara-nnu** or **binkara-nnu** and **paritta-nnu** or **baritta-nnu**, which occur as epithets of horses and correspond to Vedic **babhrú-** 'brown', **piṅgalá-** 'reddish brown' and **palitá-** 'gray'.[25]

The exact dates of the Ṛgveda and the Avesta are unknown. Most authorities, however, place the Ṛgveda between 1500 and 1000 B.C.[26] According to the Zoroastrian tradition, the prophet lived c. 600-550 B.C., but many scholars favour an earlier date, their estimates ranging from 1000 to 1400 B.C.[27] In any case, both of these oldest literary

[20] Cf. Parpola 1984b: 456f.

[21] Cf. Thapar 1970; Lal 1981a; Agrawal 1982: 261-263.

[22] Agrawal 1982: 263.

[23] Cf. Thieme 1960.

[24] "This verb is generally used for the turning manoeuvres of the chariot" (Sparreboom 1983: 166).

[25] For a summary of the Mitanni evidence with references, see Mayrhofer 1974: 11-34.

[26] Cf. Gonda 1975: 20-23.

[27] Cf. Gnoli 1980; Boyce 1979: 18ff.

monuments of India and Iran testify to the essential role played by the horse and horse-drawn chariots in the culture of the Old Indo-Aryans[28] and Old Iranians,[29] many of whom had hippophoric names.[30]

The principal word for 'horse' in Avestan is **aspa-**, already differentiated from Proto-Aryan ***áśva-**, which has been retained in Vedic. This in turn corresponds to Old Irish **ech**, Latin **equus**, Old English **eoh**, Gothic **aihwa°**, Tocharian **yakwe**, all derived from Proto-Indo-European ***eḱwos**,[31] possibly related to ***ōḱus**, a PIE word meaning 'swift'.[32] The Aryan word, then, is clearly a Proto-Indo-European inheritance, which has undergone the sound change ***ḱ** > ***ć** > ***ś** assumed to have taken place dialectally in the late "Satəm" phase of the Indo-European period.[33] A word for 'wheel', PIE ***kʷelo-** (Old Prussian **kelan**, Old Church Slavonic **kolo**, Old Norse **hvel**) or ***kʷekʷlo-** (Greek **kúklos**, Sanskrit **cakrá-**, Old English **hwēol**, Tocharian **kukäl**) can likewise securely be accepted as a PIE inheritance in the languages where it appears, since the early linguistic differentiation precludes the possibility of later lexical borrowings.[34] In this case, however, the words may date slightly after the actual dispersal of Proto-Indo-European.[35]

The various terms associated with the wheeled vehicle[36] represent the most recent technological concept solidly reconstructed from most of the IE languages and therefore are temporally most diagnostic for the maintenance of PIE linguistic unity.[37] Archaeological evidence suggests a rapid dispersal of the wheeled vehicles from the Near East through Transcaucasia and the Pontic steppe to central and northwestern Europe within a few centuries in the late fourth millennium B.C.[38]

The first strong evidence for horse domestication (possibly even riding) comes from Dereivka on the Dnieper river, a site of the Ukrainian Srednij Stog culture, which flourished about 4200-3500 B.C. (3500-2700 b.c.).[39] Marked contrasts in wealth within

[28] Cf. Singh 1965: 23-71; Sparreboom 1983; Rau 1983: 22-34.

[29] Cf. Schwartz 1985: 659f.

[30] Cf. Velze 1938: 89-91; Schwartz 1985: 659; Mayrhofer 1973: 316.

[31] Cf. further Lithuanian **ešva, ašva** 'mare'; e.g. Buck 1949: 167f.; Pokorny 1959: I, 301f.

[32] Cf. Mayrhofer 1987: I.2, 140.

[33] This is not affected by the fact that Indo-European languages have other words for 'horse' derived from different roots, which causes qualms for Coleman (1988: 450).

[34] Cf. Mallory 1976: 51.

[35] Cf. Coleman 1988: 450: "four different roots are used for 'wheel': (1) ***dhregh-** 'to run'... (2) ***reth-** 'to run, roll'...(3) ***kʷel-** 'to rotate, turn'... and (4) its reduplicated form ***kʷekʷlo-**... Some languages attest more than one... From all this it looks as if 'wheel' was not in the proto-lexicon and the various words for it were created independently after the dispersal, in some areas no doubt by loan-translation from adjacent Indo-European dialects/languages."

[36] "There are...at least *five* reconstructed Proto-Indo-European terms referring to wheeled vehicles, not just one": the four other ones are ***rot-eh₂-** 'wheel' > ***rot-h₂-o-** 'chariot'; ***aks-** (or ***h₂eḱs-**) 'axle'; ***h₂ih₃s-** (or ***h₃ih₃s-**) 'thill'; and ***wéǵheti** 'convey in a vehicle' (Anthony & Wailes 1988: 442).

[37] Cf. Mallory 1976: 50.

[38] Cf. Childe 1954; Littauer and Crouwel 1979; Piggott 1983.

[39] Cf. Piggott 1983: 57; Telegin 1986; Anthony 1986: 295. The dates cited are from Anthony: the "b.c." dates are unrecalibrated, the "B.C." dates "have been recalibrated according to the 1979 Tucson interlaboratory consensus described by Klein et al. (1982)" (Anthony 1986: 291, n. 2).

cemeteries of late Srednij Stog culture indicate that society was now stratified and dominated by raiding warriors. During the following Pit Grave (Yamna) culture, dated to c. 3500-2800 B.C. (2700-2200 b.c.), full-scale pastoral technology, including the domesticated horse, wheeled vehicles, stockbreeding and limited horticulture, spread now eastwards over the vast lowland steppes, which earlier were largely uninhabited.[40] **(Fig.4)**

It seems very likely to me that the dispersal of the Indo-European languages is to be connected with the rapid diffusion of horsemanship and related culture traits of Srednij Stog and Pit Grave ("Kurgan" culture) origin to ever widening areas. This, essentially, was proposed by Gordon Childe in 1926 and elaborated since by other scholars, especially Marija Gimbutas.[41]

Although migrations as a means of cultural dispersion have been rather unpopular with archaeologists during recent decades, they have occurred in history for different reasons, including population pressure, environmental or climatic change, attraction of favourable conditions elsewhere, "pushes" by other migrants, and prestige for successful raiding. Migrations may cover great distances (advance scouts can be used), and mostly resemble streams rather than waves, usually with two-way traffic (raiders returning home); in addition migration encourages further migration.[42]

The most likely "processual model" for the language shifts involved[43] is that of "élite dominance", which does not imply unfashionable mass movements of people, but a takeover of the rule in an existing culture by an incoming minority. After the language of the rulers and that of the ruled have for some time existed side by side, bilingualism develops and one of the languages gradually dies out, leaving its marks on the prevailing language.[44]

Early Aryans of the Russian steppes

Finno-Ugric speaking peoples have for the past several millennia inhabited the northern forest zone of Europe from Finland to the eastern side of the Ural mountains. Many scholars equate them with the relatively homogeneous hunting and fishing cultures characterized by the widespread Comb- and Pit-Marked Pottery,[45] which agrees well with the various criteria for the Finno-Ugric homeland.[46] Fusions and mixtures of Comb-Marked Pottery culture and Pit Grave Pottery culture are recorded from several sites in central Russia.[47] **(Figs. 4 & 5)** The Finno-Ugric languages contain a number of loanwords borrowed from Indo-European speaking peoples, who have been living in the neighbouring areas, originally mainly in the steppes and forest steppes of southern Russia. The borrowings cover a very long continuum, being datable with linguistic

[40] Cf. Anthony 1986: 295-298.

[41] Cf. Asimov 1981: 46; Thomas 1982: 78; Anthony 1986: 291f.

[42] Cf. Anthony and Wailes 1988: 444.

[43] For the alternative processual models, cf. Renfrew 1987: 120ff. Anthony and Wailes 1988: 444f. point out that actually the dynamics of language change connected with migrations are more complex.

[44] Cf. Renfrew 1987: 131-133; Coleman 1988: 452.

[45] For a somewhat dated general description of this culture, cf. Gimbutas 1956: 177-220.

[46] Cf. Itkonen 1968: 25.

[47] Cf. Gimbutas 1963: 485, 491.

criteria from Pre-Indo-European to the present day.[48]

Some of the early loanwords can have their origin only in Proto-Aryan, which had become differentiated from the other branches of Indo-European by the time of Proto-Finno-Ugric.[49] A case in point is the widely distributed etymon meaning 'hundred' in various Finno-Ugric languages:[50] the Proto-Finno-Ugric reconstruction ***śata**[51] tallies exactly with Proto-Aryan ***śatám** < PIE ***(d)kṃtóm**, while the cognates in the other branches of Indo-European differ: cf. Old Irish **cēt**, Latin **centum**, Gothic **hund**, Greek **he-katón**, Lithuanian **šimtas**, Old Church Slavonic **sŭto** and Tokharian **känt(e)**.[52] On the other hand, the Finno-Ugric words must have been borrowed before the Proto-Aryan ***śatám** became ***satam** in Proto-Iranian.[53]

Among the other examples is Finnish **porsas** 'piglet' and its cognates, which presuppose a PFU protoform ***porśas** or ***porćas**. Traditionally this has been supposed to go back to an early Satəm form ***porśos** or ***porćos**, most likely reflecting a Proto-Aryan dialect of Indo-European that had not yet undergone the sound change **o > a** characteristic of Old Iranian and Old Indo-Aryan. It is now recognized, however, that the PFU form may reflect PIE ***porḱos** as well.[54] Jorma Koivulehto has in recent years proposed many new etymologies for Finno-Ugric words which have been borrowed in PIE times. In the following example the etymon is known to exist on the IE side in the Aryan branch alone: Finnish **kehrä** 'spindle', Mordvin (E) **śteŕe**, (M) **kśtiŕ** 'spindle' < Volga-Finnic or PFU ***keśträ** / ***kesträ** < PIE & Proto-Aryan ***kēt^{s}tro-** / ***ket^{s}tro-** > Sanskrit **cāttra-**, **cattra-** 'spindle' = Avestan ***častra-** > Pashto **cāṣai** 'spindle'.[55]

It is nowadays widely agreed that Proto-Finno-Ugric can hardly have dispersed later than around 2500 B.C.[56] A Proto-Aryan language was therefore spoken in south Russia early in the third millennium B.C. This conclusion is very important for the interpretation of the archaeological evidence. The Scythian and Sarmatian tribes, who from the 8th century B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era ruled the Eurasian steppes, spoke Aryan languages (of the "Iranian" group). Their burial tumuli (in Russian, **kurgán** or **mogíla**) and their nomadic culture[57] can be traced back, through several successive cultures of the same type, to the above-mentioned Pit Grave culture (c. 3500-2800 B.C.) of the south Russian steppes. Intermediary phases were the Hut Grave culture (c. 2800-2000 B.C.)[58] **(fig. 5)** and the Timber Grave culture (c. 2000-800 B.C.), which occupied much the

[48] For the older IE loanwords in the FU languages see especially Joki 1973, Rédei 1983, and Koivulehto 1983, 1984, 1987, 1988a,b.

[49] Cf. Burrow 1973a: 23-27, with the criticism of Joki 1973: 176-179.

[50] Finnish **sata**, Lappish **čuotte**, **čuođe**, Mordvin **śado**, Cheremish **śüδə**, Votyak **su**, Ziryene **so**, Vogul **śāt**, **sāt**, Ostyak **sot**, **sat**, Hungarian **száz**.

[51] Cf. Collinder 1955: 136; Joki 1973: 311 no. 135; Rédei 1983: 23 no. 20.

[52] Cf. Szemerényi 1970: 40-42, 208.

[53] Cf. Burrow 1973: 25-6 and Joki 1973: 177-8.

[54] Cf. Joki 1973: 303 no. 117; Koivulehto 1983: 140f.; 1987: 206.

[55] Koivulehto 1979; 1983: 139.

[56] Cf. Hakulinen 1968: 13; Joki 1973: 239ff., 357ff.; Rédei 1983: 207-209; Koivulehto 1983.

[57] Cf. Rolle 1980; Leskov 1974; Trippet 1974; David 1985.

[58] Described in Gimbutas 1956: 71, 74-80.

same region in the Volga steppes, and the Andronovo culture (c. 1700-900 B.C.), which spread from the Urals to the steppes of Kazakhstan and southern Siberia.[59] **(fig. 17)**

While the Pit Grave culture probably represents the Proto-Indo-European and in its final stages the Proto-Satəm language, the Hut Grave culture is likely to have been Proto-Aryan linguistically.[60] The North Pontic steppes, which were gradually taken over by the Timber Grave culture, had during the Pit Grave and Early Kuban periods[61] been a great source of "Kurgan" migration to Europe and Anatolia. The Pit Grave tradition was continued here from about 2900 B.C.[62] by the heterogeneous Catacomb Grave cultures and the Middle Kuban culture.[63] The languages spoken in these cultures may have included Proto-Albanian, Proto-Slavic and Proto-Armenian.

Immigration from Greater Iran into the Indus valley c. 2000 B.C.

One of the chief obstacles in the archaeological study of the Aryan immigrations to India has been posed by the difficulties inherent in recognising the movements of peoples in the archaeological record.[64] In this regard, as recently pointed out by C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, the distinction between two types of archaeological evidence suggestive of culture contact and/or expansion is most important. If only a few types and numbers of artifacts characteristic of one culture are found within another distinctive culture, the contact was very limited. But if an *entire cultural complex* characteristic of a well defined archaeological culture is recovered from the area of another culture, it suggests foreign colonization, which usually leads to major cultural transformation in the colonized area.[65]

The passes of the northwestern mountain range through which nearly all migrations to India have passed are the most strategic points to look for the coming of the Aryans. One of the main channels is the Bolan Pass leading from Baluchistan to the Kachi plain in the southern Indus valley. Here French archaeologists led by Jean-François Jarrige have very recently brought to light conclusive proof[66] of a foreign colonization that took place around 2000-1900 B.C. Excavations carried out since 1978 at Mehrgarh VIII and at the nearby Sibri Damb brought to light cemeteries with tombs and cenotaphs, whose burial mode and grave goods were totally different from the earlier local traditions. Examination of the Late Harappan occupation at the top of the neighbouring Nausharo mound in 1985 to 1987 enabled the placement of this material stratigraphically in the cultural sequence. The uppermost level at Nausharo was found to represent the so called Jhukar culture known previously from Chanhujo-daro and Amri in Sind. At all these sites, the traditions

[59] Described in Gimbutas 1965: 528ff.; cf. also Asimov 1981: 46f.; Jettmar 1983a: 193, 211f.; Trippet 1974: 70ff.; Kuz'mina 1988.

[60] Cf. Mallory 1977: 359: "An admittedly speculative time depth for common Indo-Iranian is perhaps c. 2500-2000 B.C."

[61] Cf. Gimbutas 1956: 46-70.

[62] Cf. Mallory 1977: 355.

[63] Gimbutas 1965: 479ff.; Gimbutas 1977: 278ff.; Mallory 1977: 355ff.

[64] Cf. F. Allchin 1981: 336-339.

[65] Cf. Lamberg-Karlovsky 1986: 194f.

[66] Cf. Lamberg-Karlovsky 1986: 202f.

of the Indus Civilisation continue without a break, but are transformed by intrusive traits. The new elements could now be recognized to be those associated with the cemeteries of Sibri and Mehrgarh VIII, whose entire cultural complex in its turn is practically identical to that of sites like Tepe Hissar III in northeastern Iran, Namazga V in southern Turkmenistan and Sapalli Tepe and Dashly in Afghanistan.[67] Moreover, a related aristocratic burial was accidentally discovered in Quetta (Baluchistan) in 1985.[68]

Materials comparable to those at Sibri and Quetta had actually been found some fifty years earlier also in south Baluchistan at Shahi-tump, Khurab and Mehi[69], as well as at Dabar Kot,[70] and stray objects related to the Jhukar culture come from Mohenjo-daro as well. Their interpretation, however, was difficult before the French work and before the extensive Soviet excavations in Central Asia during the past thirty years, especially those by Vadim M. Masson and Viktor I. Sarianidi. We now know a long continuous belt of many sites sharing a fairly uniform culture at the end of the third millennium B.C. in what Maurizio Tosi has proposed to call "Turan"[71] and Pierre Amiet "Outer Iran", i.e., an extension of Iran.[72] I shall use the term "Greater Iran", because parts of Iran and most of the Iranian plateau are included. It extends from the Gurgan plain in the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea (Tepe Hissar, Tureng Tepe, Shah Tepe), over the piedmont zone of the Kopet Dagh mountains in southern Turkmenistan (Namazga, Altyn-depe), the delta of the Murghab river in Merv or ancient Margiana (Kelleli, Taip, Gonur, Togolok), and ancient Bactria comprising both southern Uzbekistan (Sapalli Tepe) and northern Afghanistan (Dashly, Fullol, and extensive grave lootings[73]), down to Mundigak and the sites in Baluchistan and Sind already mentioned. The large site of Shahdad in Kerman on the desert of Lut in Iran[74] appears to have been a major centre of this cultural tradition,[75] and further sites may be expected especially from little explored Khorasan[76]. In 1988 related burials of individuals of a high status were found even at Wadi Asimah in Oman.[77]

There is no generally accepted name for this cultural complex of "Greater Iran" in the Namazga V period. I shall call it "the Bronze Age culture of Greater Iran" or simply "Namazga V culture". **(Fig. 6)** It has developed under a strong Proto-Elamite influence and is characterized by such traits as monumental architecture, distinctive small ritualistic 'columns' made of stone, long stone sceptres, seal-amulets with distinctive shapes and

[67] Cf. Jarrige 1987b: 102.

[68] Cf. Jarrige 1985a, 1987a, 1987b; Santoni 1984.

[69] Cf. Stein 1931; Piggott 1952: 97ff.; Jansen 1986: 99-109; Jarrige 1987b.

[70] Cf. Mughal 1972: 143f. on a channel-spouted cup found by Stein at Dabar Kot.

[71] Cf. Tosi 1977: 47; 1979; cf. also Lamberg-Karlovsky 1986: 202. — The adoption of this name does not seem advisable, because it is bound to add to the confusion concerning the identity of the land name **Tūrān** and the ethnic name **Tura/Tūra** in the early historical sources of Iran (cf. Gnoli 1980: 110ff.).

[72] Cf. Amiet 1986: 171.

[73] Cf. Jettmar 1981c; Pottier 1984; Sarianidi 1986a: 13-15.

[74] Cf. Hakemi 1972.

[75] For an excellent summary of the archaeological evidence relating to these sites and areas, see Amiet 1986: 184-207.

[76] Cf. Sarianidi 1985a: 126, 130f.

[77] Cf. Vogt (1988) in press.

iconographic motifs (**fig. 7-8**),[78] copper pins ending in double spirals or animal figures, miniature "cosmetic bottles", shaft-hole axes and axe-adzes as well as lance-heads, swords and dirks of bronze, mace-heads of stone and bronze, round bronze mirrors with anthropomorphic handles, stone statues of men with Elamite-style *kaunakes* dress, vessels of steatite and alabaster, including "kidney-shaped" vessels and pedestalled goblets, goblets of gold and silver, violin-shaped terracotta figurines of a goddess, and flexed burials and cenotaphs.[79]

The Greater Iranian Bronze Age culture of the Namazga V phase flourished, in part, simultaneously with the Indus Civilization,[80] and there is evidence of some contact between the two even during the third millennium. Bronze pins with spiral or animal tops have long been recognized as western importations in the Indus cities,[81] but are now known to represent the Greater Iranian culture. A Bactrian type seal with the shape of a stepped cross has been found at Harappa,[82] (**fig. 7e**) while a number of ivory objects and two Indus seals have been recovered from Altyn-depe.[83] Vessels with the typically Harappan "kidney" shape are known from Dashly and Merhgarh VIII.[84] An unprovenanced seal, probably coming from Margiana, bears the Harappan-style motif of an animal with the "kidney" pattern on its body.[85] The Harappan motifs of pipal leaf and trefoil are also known from objects coming from Bactria and the Quetta hoard.[86]

Arguments for an Aryan identity of the Namazga V culture

While many traits of the Bronze Age culture of Greater Iran go back to earlier local traditions, others owe their origin to foreign (especially Proto-Elamite) influence. Nevertheless, they are surprisingly uniform considering the enormous area of distribution. Many luxury items have been found, and the number of weapons is conspicuous. There is evidence for horse and chariots, for transport of the entire cultural complex including intrusive necropoles, and for richly furnished aristocratic burials. For all these reasons there is now a fair unanimity that "Greater Iran" was in the Namazga V period controlled by a seminomadic military élite.[87]

This was not so evident in 1977, when Roman Ghirshman published his conclusions of an archaeological search for the Aryans. Ghirshman's starting point was the Hurrian culture of Mitanni in northern Syria with its Aryan-speaking kings c. 1550-1300 B.C. (**fig. 3**). Analysing the ceramics of the Mitanni area, Ghirshman pointed out that besides

[78] See figs. 7, 18, 24 and 31. For the iconography of the seals from Bactria and Margiana, see especially Sarianidi 1986b and Amiet 1986.

[79] Cf. Pottier 1984; Jarrige 1985a: 106-110; Sarianidi 1986a; Amiet 1986: 184-207.

[80] Cf. Francfort 1984.

[81] Cf. Piggott 1952: 210.

[82] Cf. Joshi & Parpola 1987: I, 205 no. H-166, Brunswig et al. 1983: 103, 108f. and figs. 5, 11, 13; and e.g. Sarianidi 1986a: 231, 255, 260; Askarov 1977: pl. XLIV, XLVI = Brentjes 1987: 149.

[83] Cf. Masson 1985: 33.

[84] Cf. Sarianidi 1979: 654f.; Santoni 1984: 54.

[85] Cf. Collon (1988) in press (Pittman 1984 no. 28).

[86] Cf. Sarianidi 1979: 654; Vergessene Städte am Indus, 1987: 286.

[87] Cf. Masson 1985: 35; Masimov 1985; Sarianidi 1986a: 49; Amiet 1986: 213.

the so-called Ḫabur ware, which is widely connected with the Hurrians,[88] there is an elegant and finely made white-painted black ware. This luxury ceramic has been found only in the aristocratic quarters of the explored towns, and is known only from the period of the Aryan dynasty of Mitanni. A third ceramic type specifically of the Mitanni area and period is the Black Impressed Pottery, which is similar to, and apparently a continuation of, the earlier Black Polished Ware of Hissar III.[89] This ceramic connection between the Mitanni area and the Gurgan sites suggested that the latter, too, might have had Aryan speaking rulers.[90] In support of this hypothesis, Ghirshman marshalled a number of other arguments.

Ghirshman pointed out that the rich civilisation of Hissar III was certainly governed by a military aristocracy, because a great number of bronze weapons have been found, some ornamented with silver.[91] Particularly important evidence for their Aryan identity is an evidently locally made cylinder seal of alabaster from the Hissar III B level, so far generally dated to about 2350 B.C.[92] This dating would make this seal the earliest known representation of a horse-drawn two-wheeled war chariot **(fig. 9a)**. Osteological material proves that the wild horse of the Turkoman steppes was domesticated in the Gurgan plain about the beginning of the third millennium. The cross-bar wheel **(fig. 9b)**, evidenced for the first time in this seal, is considered as the intermediate stage in the evolution of the spoked wheel of war chariots from the solid wheel invented earlier in the ancient Near East.[93]

Three golden and two silvery trumpets found at Tepe Hissar III C, and two golden ones from the lost "treasure of Astrabad", probably coming from Tureng Tepe, further confirm that the ruling class was engaged in chariot warfare. The trumpet with its far-reaching sound was indispensable in directing horse-drawn chariots during battles. It was used also in training horses.[94]

It is generally assumed that wheeled vehicles were invented in Mesopotamia and rapidly diffused to Europe over Transcaucasia and the Pontic Steppe c. 3000 B.C.[95] The cemetery of Nal'chik and the famous royal barrows of Majkop of the Early Kuban culture in the North Pontic steppe represent a very early blending of Mesopotamian, Anatolian and Transcaucasian cultural traditions with burial rites coming from the north (the Pit

[88] For a critical examination of the Ḫabur ware and its cultural and ethnic associations, see Hamlin 1971. According to Hamlin (1971: 295), the Hurrian hypothesis remains a possibility. "There is, however, no evidence to either support or contradict this interpretation", which is not the only plausible suggestion: the Ḫabur ware could also represent "the short-lived but high-prestige Assyrian government of Šamši-adad I" (ibid.).

[89] Cf. Ghirshman 1977: 3-9.

[90] Cf. Ghirshman 1977: 9. Other scholars, too, have assumed that the Hissar III culture was ruled by early Aryans; cf. Vanden Berghe 1964; Young 1967: 31; Jettmar 1972: 69ff; Dyson 1973: 688-691; Thomas 1982: 64-67.

[91] Cf. Ghirshman 1977: 14.

[92] According to Professor C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (oral communication, July 1988), this date is too early: the dating of the Hissar sequence is currently undergoing a drastic revision.

[93] Cf. Ghirshman 1977: 14-16; Littauer & Crouwel 1977: 99f.; Moorey 1986: 199f.

[94] Cf. Ghirshman 1977: 17f., 31f. Similar trumpets have now been found in Bactria; cf. Pottier 1984: pl. XLIII, 313-315.

[95] Cf. Childe 1951; 1954a; 1954b: 204-214; 1954c; Piggott 1983: 240f.

Grave kurgans of south Russia).[96] The barrow of Uch Tepe in Azerbaijan has a burial and metal objects similar to those of the Majkop culture.[97] This, then, would appear to be the most likely direction from which the Hissar II culture[98] acquired both its chariot technology (which it developed further) and its ruling élite, especially if the latter is assumed to have spoken an Aryan language. The migratory patterns of the later West Iranian invasions also support this hypothesis, but it must be admitted that there is little evidence to substantiate it.[99]

Double spiral-headed pins and white paste beads characteristic of Hissar II-III have been found also in the northern Caucasus at Kabardino Park near Nal'chik, the former also at Kazna Pando in southern Russia on the Moksha river, a tributary of Oka, where the ceramic is analogous to pottery on the lower Volga and Kuma.[100] Some parallels in copper artefact types link Hissar IIIC to the royal stone-cist burials under high barrows at Tsarskaya, which represent the post-Majkop Middle Kuban culture.[101]

The site of Pirak, which continues the sequence of Mehrgarh, Sibri and Nausharo in the Kachi plain in Pakistan, from c. 1800 B.C. testifies to the rapid diffusion of the horse and the two-humped Bactrian camel in northwest India during the first quarter of the second millennium B.C. These animals brought about a major change in the economy of the area.[102] It is obvious that Sind served as a channel through which immigrants representing first the Namazga V and shortly thereafter also the Namazga VI culture continued to other parts of the Indian subcontinent. In the course of this journey they naturally became more and more assimilated with the earlier local cultures, which makes their identification difficult. Nevertheless, there are enough clues to trace some main thrusts.

The arrival of the Namazga V people seems to have disrupted the political and cultural unity of the Indus valley soon after 2000 B.C. The urban system of the Harappans and the processes of city life, such as centralized government with the collection of taxes and organization of trade, ceased to function. The thousands of countryside villages, however, persisted. In peripheral regions, especially in Gujarat, Mature Harappan traits, mixed with new elements, lingered longer, until c. 1750 B.C.[103] The newcomers did not stop in the Harappan area, however, but pushed on further both into the Deccan and towards the Gangetic valley.

The Chalcolithic cultures of Rajasthan (the Banas valley with the sites of Ahar and Gilund, c. 1800 B.C.) and of central India and the Deccan (the "Kayatha" culture, c. 2000-1800 B.C. and the succeeding "Malwa Culture" of Navdatoli I-II, etc., dated to c.

[96] Cf. Gimbutas 1965: 486ff.; 1970: 164f., 168f.; Andreeva 1977.

[97] Cf. Gimbutas 1970: 181; Thomas 1982: 67.

[98] Hissar II looks like the phase when the seminomadic élite, assumed to have ruled the Bronze Age culture of Greater Iran, took over the local culture. At the beginning of this phase, c. 3000 B.C., the black or grey polished ware (characteristic of the Gurgan plain during the Hissar III period) starts gradually to replace the earlier painted pottery. Cf. e.g. Amiet 1986: 184f.

[99] On this hypothesis cf. already Piggott 1952: 61ff.

[100] Cf. Gimbutas 1956: 62-66.

[101] Cf. Gimbutas 1965: 488; 1970: 184f.

[102] Cf. Jarrige & Santoni 1979: I, 404-405; Jarrige 1985c: 244 (with revised dating).

[103] Cf. Agrawal 1982: 192ff.; Allchin & Allchin 1982: 229ff.

1700-1400 B.C.) have produced pedestalled bowls ("wine-cups"), channel-spouted cups and other ceramics as well as copper objects resembling those of the Bronze Age culture of Greater Iran.[104] The Malwa culture evolved into the "Jorwe culture" (c. 1400-1100 B.C.).[105] From a Jorwe stratum at Daimabad in Maharastra comes a cylinder seal with a horse motif.[106] I am now inclined to think that in Rajasthan, Gujarat and the Deccan the originally perhaps Aryan-speaking nomads of Namazga V-VI derivation fairly soon adopted the local language, namely, the Proto-South-Dravidian, derived from the Harappan language spoken in this southern extension of the Indus civilization.

To approximately the "Late Harappan" period belong the "Copper Hoards" found at many sites in north India, especially in the upper Ganges valley. While the associated "Ochre Coloured Pottery" (c. 2600-1100 B.C.)[107] and some of the copper objects, especially the flat axes, suggest a Harappan ancestry, the swords and dirks with antennae hilts from the Gangetic valley have an exact parallel in north Afghanistan,[108] a sword coming from recent illicit excavations in Bactria[109] **(fig. 10)**. Such weapons point to a warring people. Most suggestive is also the discovery of a "bar celt" among the Namazga V related objects in the "treasure" of Quetta[110] as well as among the plundered objects of north Afghanistan:[111] such bar celts are characteristic of the Copper Hoards. The largest hoard, weighing 376 kg and comprising over 400 copper objects, was discovered at Gungeria in Madhya Pradesh, in central India. The approximately 100 thin silver plates in the form of a bull's head with downturned horns belonging to this hoard have been compared with the famous gold plate pectoral in the shape of an ibex head from Tepe Hissar.[112]

Rice-cultivation on a large scale is evidenced for the first time in the Indus valley in the post-Harappan period at Pirak in the Kachi plain, right from the beginning of period I dated to c. 1800 B.C.[113] "The Ganges valley, where numerous points of bone and ivory that are similar to the Pirak ones were carved, is also one of the earliest rice-growing centres."[114] The introduction of rice from the mid-Ganges valley to the borders of Baluchistan coincides with the strengthening of contacts between these regions around 2000 B.C. "It is indeed at this period that we find evidence of the foundation in the northwest of the Ganges valley, near present-day Delhi, of a great many villages that were strongly influenced by Harappan culture."[115]

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[104] Cf. Sankalia 1955; 1963; Sankalia et al. 1971: 40; Thapar 1965: 162; Misra 1969: 307f.; Mughal 1972: 143f.; Agrawal 1982: 210-248.

[105] Cf. Miller 1984.

[106] Cf. Sali 1986; Joshi & Parpola 1987: I, 353 (Dmd-4).

[107] Cf. Agrawal 1982: 203.

[108] On the copper hoards, cf. Allchin & Allchin 1982: 256-258; Agrawal 1982: 203-210; Thapar 1985: 99-103; and especially Yule 1985.

[109] Cf. Amiet 1977: 110.

[110] Cf. Vergessene Städte am Indus 1987: 285 no. D 11.

[111] Cf. Pottier 1984: pl. XIV no. 93; fig. 16 nos. 93-94.

[112] Cf. Sankalia 1974; Allchin & Allchin 1982: 257f.

[113] Cf. Jarrige & Santoni 1979: I, 402; Jarrige 1985c: 244 (with revised dating).

[114] Jarrige & Santoni 1979: I, 410.

Cemetery-H of Harappa represents a Late Harappan culture with intrusive elements. It is widely spread in the Punjab and in northern Rajasthan[116] and dated to c. 2000-1400 B.C.[117]

The archaeological evidence, then, suggests that the carriers of the Bronze Age culture of Greater Iran, entering the Indian subcontinent from Baluchistan, probably were an early wave of Aryan speaking immigrants. Before considering the archaeological evidence in the most important northwestern checkpoint, the valley of Swat, we must look into the literary sources. What do the Vedic texts tell us about the coming of the Aryans to India?

The invading Ṛgvedic Aryans and their dark-skinned enemies

The Ṛgvedic hymns do contain unmistakable reminiscences of the Aryan conquest and takeover of the land from its earlier inhabitants,[118] for example in ṚS 7,5,3 & 6: "Through fear of you the dark peoples fled, relinquishing their possessions without battle, when, O Agni Vaiśvānara, burning bright for Pūru and rending the forts, you did shine[119]....You, Agni, drove the Dasyus from their abode, creating a wide light for the Ārya." Cf. also ṚS 1,131,4: "The Pūrus know this your exploit, that you, O Indra, have overpowered the autumnal forts, have overpowered (them) as a conqueror. Do, O Indra, chastise the impious (lit. non-sacrificing) mortal, O Lord of Strength! You robbed (from him) the great earth (and) the waters here, drunken (with Soma, you robbed from him) the waters here."[120]Ṛ

In the Ṛgveda many ethnic names are mentioned; they are, however, divided into two major antagonistic groups, the "five clans"[121] of the Aryans (Yadus, Anus, Druhyus, Turvaśas and Pūrus) and dark-skinned inimical peoples, with whom the Ṛgvedic Aryans fought for the possession of cattle and pasturage. These hostile and hated people are mostly called Dasyus, Dāsas, or Paṇis.[122] The three ethnic names are apparently near

[115] Jarrige 1985c: 244.

[116] Cf. Mughal 1984: 499f.

[117] Cf. Piggott 1952: 235 and Allchin & Allchin 1982: 246-249, who compare Cemetery-H pottery with that of Tepe Giyan II in western Iran.

[118] Cf. Muir 1874: II, 369ff.; Burrow 1977: 73f. The existence of such references is denied e.g. by Shaffer 1984 and by Renfrew 1987: 182. The ṚS **translations** here and in the sequel have mostly been taken over, either directly or with modifications, from Muir 1874, Rau 1976 or Burrow 1977.

[119] ṚS 7,5,3 **tvád bhiyā́ víśa āyann áśiknīr asamanā́ jáhatīr bhójanāni / vaiśvānara pūráve śóśucānaḥ púro yád agne daráyann ádīdeḥ.**

[120] ṚS 1,131,4 **vidúṣ ṭe asyá vīryásya pūrávaḥ púro yád indra śáradīr avâtiraḥ sāsahānó avâtiraḥ / śā́sas tám indra mártyam áyajyum śavasas pate / mahīm amuṣṇāḥ pṛthivīm imā́ apó mandasānā́ imā́ apáḥ.**

[121] **pañca janāsaḥ, pañca jātāḥ, pañca kṣitayaḥ, pañca kṛṣṭayaḥ, pañca mānuṣāsaḥ.**

[122] Excluding the formative elements in the frequently mentioned proper names of two Aryan kings, **Trasádasyu-** and **Dívo-dāsa-**, the word **dásyu-** is found in the Ṛgveda-saṁhitā 85 times and the word **dāsa-** 64 times (out of these 32 are nouns, accented **dāsá-**, and 32 adjectives, accented **dâsa-**). Together with the single occurrence of the related word **dása-**, this makes a sizable corpus of 150 occurrences. Statistically the Dāsas and Dasyus are the by far most important group of foreign peoples mentioned in the Ṛgveda expressly in contrast to the Aryans themselves. It is likely that many of the unspecified references to enemies of the Aryans refer to them. Next in frequency come the Paṇis, closely related to the Dāsas or Dasyus. They are mentioned in the Ṛgveda altogether 44 times.

synonyms in the Veda, because on numerous occasions two of them occur in one verse (or two successive verses) as the name of one and the same enemy,[123] and in general, the very same things are said of all three.[124] Other appellations of inimical peoples are few and isolated.[125]

There are many different features that the Ṛgvedic Aryans clearly distinguish between themselves and their enemies. One of these is a darker skin colour. In addition to ṚS 7,5,3 & 6 already quoted above, compare the following verses: ṚS 1,130,8 "Indra, who in a hundred ways protects in all battles, in heaven-conferring battles, has preserved in the fights the sacrificing Aryan. Chastising the neglecters of religious rites, he subjected the black skin to Manu. He burns down the greedy Arśasāna,[126] as a blazing (fire) burns everything that is dry."[127] ṚS 2,20,7 "That slayer of Vṛtra, Indra, the breaker of the fort, has torn open the (castles) of Dāsas, which in their wombs hid the black people. He created land and water for Manu (i.e. the Aryan man). He made fully efficient the praise of the sacrificer."[128]

In ṚS 3,34,9, the Dasyus are contrasted with the "Aryan colour": "Indra gained the horses, he gained the sun, he gained the much-nourishing cow, and he gained the golden wealth: slaying the Dasyus, he promoted the Aryan race (lit. colour).[129]" This undoubtedly refers to the lighter skin of the Aryans: cf. also ṚS 1,100,18 "After slaying the Dasyus and the Śimyus...let him (i.e. Indra) with his white friends (**sákhibhiḥ śvitnyébhiḥ**) win land, let him win the sun, water..." In ṚS 2,12,4, Indra is spoken of as one "who subdued the Dāsa race (lit. colour) and drove it into hiding"[130]. The Aryan

For the Vedic occurrences of the words **dāsa-** and **dasyu-**, see Grassmann 1873; Böhtlingk & Roth III (1861), and Vishva Bandhu (ed.) 1935-73, s.vv., and the respective passages in Geldner 1951-57 and Renou 1955-69; Lassen 1867: I, 421 ff; Muir 1874: II, 358-396; Zimmer 1879: 100-118; Bergaigne 1883, II: 208-219; Macdonell 1897: 62-64, 156-164; Hillebrandt 1891-1902: I, 83-116; III, 255-259, 267-293; Macdonell & Keith 1912: 346-349, 356-359; Oldenberg 1917: 141-163; Wikander 1941: 186-189; Kane 1941: II,1, 25-27, 33-36; Rau 1976; Hale 1986: 146-169 (offers a collection of all the Vedic passages on the Dāsas and Dasyus with text and translation).

[123] Compare, for example, ṚS 1,103,3 "A born support, trusting in his strength, he (Indra) ranged smashing the forts of the Dāsas (**púro vibhindánn acarad ví dāśíḥ**). Indra, thunderer, considering, hurl thy shaft against the Dasyu, and increase the might and glory of the Ārya."

[124] Cf. Oldenberg 1917: 150 n. 1. For example, the statements concerning the religious differences from the Ṛgvedic Aryans, are very similar for each of these three peoples, as we shall see further on.

[125] There is, for example, just one single reference (ṚS 3,53,14) to Kīkaṭas, who do not milk their cows nor prepare the offering of hot milk. (According to Yāska's Nirukta, 6,32, dating perhaps from the 6th century B.C., Kīkaṭāḥ refers to a country inhabited by non-Aryans.) ṚS 1,100,18 mentions a people called Śimyus together with the Dasyus as vanquished by Indra; and a bold (**śárdhat-**) Śimyu figures in ṚS 7,18,5 as an enemy of the Aryan king Sudās, his mockeries (**á-śasti-**) undone by Indra. Cf. Zimmer 1879: 118 f.

[126] According to ṚS 2,20,6, Arśasāna is a Dāsa.

[127] ṚS 1,130,8 **índraḥ samátsu yájamānam ā́ryam prā́vad víśveṣu śatámūtir ā́jiṣu svármīḷheṣv ā́jiṣu / mánave śā́sad avratā́n tvácam kṛṣṇā́m arandhayat / dákṣan ná víśvaṁ tātṛṣāṇám oṣati ny árśasānám oṣati.**

[128] ṚS 2,20,7 **sá vṛtrahéndraḥ kṛṣṇáyonīḥ puraṁdaró dā́śīr airayad ví / ájanayan mánave kṣā́m apáś ca satrā́ sáṁsaṁ yájamānasya tū́tot.**

[129] ṚS 3,34,9 **hatvī́ dā́syūn prā́ryaṁ várṇam ā́vat.** In later texts, but not yet in the Ṛgveda, the term **varṇa** refers to the four hierarchical classes of the society associated with different symbolic colours: the highest are the priestly Brahmins, whose colour is white, and the lowest the menial Śūdras, whose colour is black.

'colour' and Dāsa 'colour' are contrasted in the **nivid**-formula of the ritual: "Indra elevated the Aryan race, he struck down (or drove away) the Dāsa race."[131] ṚS 9,41,1-2 speaks in two successive verses of how we (the Aryans) "slay away the (people of) black skin" (**ghnántaḥ kṛṣṇā́m ápa tvácam**) and "subdue the irreligious Dasyu" (**sā́hvā́ṁso dásyum avratā́m**).

In addition to the skin-colour, which is yet another sign of the external origin of the Aryans, the texts stress the differences in religion between the Aryans and their adversaries. We shall come back to this topic a little later.

Mythical and real enemies

Some individual Dāsas slain by Indra and mentioned by name, notably Śuṣṇa "Drought" and Namuci "Not letting go", seem to be purely mythical beings analogous to Indra's archenemy Vṛtra, the demon who retained the waters (in the cloud) and caused drought.[132] These demons may reflect deities worshipped by the Dāsas.

One of the mightiest Dāsas is called Śambara, and he is said to have lived in the mountains. Thus according to ṚS 2,12,11, Indra "found Śambara, who lived in the mountains, in the 40th autumn."[133] Cf. further ṚS 4,30,14: "Also Dāsa Śambara, the son of Kulitara, did you, O Indra, bring from the great mountain"[134]; and ṚS 6,26,5: "You have struck Dāsa Śambara down from the mountain, you helped Divodāsa with wonderful succours."[135] This description of high mountains, which reach to the clouds, has undoubtedly contributed to the idea that the forts of the Dāsas and Dasyus were in the air. This in turn has led some scholars think that the Dāsas and Dasyus were nothing but imagined aerial demons,[136] on a par with Vṛtra. Vṛtra's blocking of the waters inside the cloud, from which they are released by Indra like cows from an enemy fort, is certainly another image to which the idea of aerial castles is due.

But most of the Dāsas and Dasyus undoubtedly were real human enemies encountered by the invading Aryans.[137] The hymns specify by name individual Aryan kings and their Dāsa or Dasyu foes, with genealogies. Thus Indra helped Divodāsa Atithigva, the king of the Tṛtsus, in vanquishing Dāsa Śambara, who is mentioned about twenty times in the Ṛgveda. Divodāsa's descendant was king Sudās, most famous for the battle of ten kings (ṚS 7,18 & 33 & 83). Sudās fought against Dāsas as well as Aryans: ṚS

[130] ṚS 2,12,4 **yó dā́sam várṇam ádharam gúhā́kaḥ**.

[131] ŚŚS 8,25,1 **ud āryaṁ varṇam atirad ava dāsaṁ varṇam ahan**.

[132] Other such Dāsa demons are "the loud-shouting Dāsa with six eyes and three heads", a boar (varāha), whom Trita slew with his metal-tipped inspired speech (ṚS 10,99,6), Uraṇa with 99 arms and Arbuda (ṚS 2,14,4), and the Dāsa Vyaṁsa who wounded Indra and struck off both of his jaws, before Indra smashed his head with the weapon (ṚS 4,18,9; 1,101,2). The Dāsa dragon (**ahi**), from whom Indra wrests the waters (2,11,2), has a counterpart in the Avestan **aži dāhākō**. Cf. Hillebrandt 1902: III, 274, 288ff; Macdonell 1897: 64, 160f.

[133] ṚS 2,12,11 **yáḥ śámbaraṁ párvateṣu kṣiyántaṁ catvāriṁśyā́ṁ śarády anvávindat**.

[134] ṚS 4,30,14 **utá dā́sāṁ kaulitarā́ṁ bṛhatáḥ párvatād ádhi / ávāhann indra śámbaram**.

[135] ṚS 6,26,5 **áva girér dā́sam śámbaraṁ han pūrvó dívodāsam citrā́bhir ūtí**.

[136] Cf. e.g. Keith 1925: I, 234.

[137] Cf. e.g. Oldenberg 1917: 149, 151-3; Macdonell 1897: 64.

7,83,1"...Slay both the Dāsa enemies and the Aryan; protect Sudās with your aid, O Indra and Varuṇa." Similarly Indra aided Ṛjiśvan, son of Vidathin, to conquer Dāsa Pipru, whose name occurs eleven times. Dabhīti pressed Soma for Indra and was aided by the god, who sent to sleep 30,000 Dāsas (ṚS 4,30,21) and bound a thousand Dasyus with cords (ṚS 2,13,9), so that the Dāsas Cumuri and Dhuni were overcome and their castles destroyed (ṚS 6,18,8). Other probably historical enemies of the Aryans who are called Dāsa and mentioned by name are Varcin[138], whose 100,000 warriors were slain by Indra; Dṛbhīka and Rudhikrā (ṚS 2,14,3 &5); Anarśani and Śṛbinda (ṚS 8,32,2); Arśasāna (ṚS 1,130,8; 2,20,6) ; and Ilībiśa (ṚS 1,33,12). What an important role the struggles with their enemies played in the lives of the Aryans at this period is illustrated also by the names of some of their own kings: the son of Purukutsa was called Trasadasyu "one who makes the Dasyus tremble".

The forts conquered by the Ṛgvedic Aryans

The most significant fact for the archaeological identification of the Dāsas and Dasyus is that they had forts, which were destroyed by Indra and his protégés, the Soma-pressing Aryan kings. E.g. ṚS 4,30,20 "Indra has thrown asunder a hundred stone forts for his pious worshipper Divodāsa";[139] 4,16,13 "You [Indra] made Pipru Mṛgaya, who had grown in power, surrender to Ṛjiśvan, son of Vidathin. You threw down fifty-thousand dark-skinned ones. You rent the forts as old age (would rend) a garment."[140]

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[138] ṚS 2,14,6; 4,30,15; 6,47,21; 7,99,5.

[139] ṚS 4,30,20 **śatám aśmanmáyīnām purâm índro vy âsyat / divodāsāya dāśúṣe.**

[140] ṚS 4,16,13 ...**pañcāśát kṛṣṇâ ní vapaḥ sahásrātkam ná púro jarimâ ví dardaḥ.** Cf. further ṚS 1,59,6 "I will proclaim the greatness of the bull (i.e. Indra) whom the Pūrus follow as the slayer of Vṛtra. Vaiśvānara Agni (i.e. fire) slew the Dasyu, shattered the palisades, and cut down Śambara (...**vaiśvānaró dásyum agnír jaghanvâm ádhūnot kâṣṭhā áva śámbaram bhet**)." ṚS 6,47,2 "This was the sweet, (this) here the most exhilarating (Soma) by which Indra was intoxicated in the slaying of Vṛtra, (he) who (has done) many shattering deeds, who has destroyed Śambara's ninety-nine ramparts (**purūṇi yáś cyautnâ śámbarasya ví navatím náva ca dehyò hán**)." ṚS 2,19,6 "...Indra tore open for Divodāsa Śambara's ninety-nine forts (**divodāsāya navatím ca návéndraḥ púro vy airac chámbarasya**)". ṚS 4,26,3 "When I favoured Divodāsa Atithigva, I (i.e. Indra), drunken (with Soma) at once tore open Śambara's ninety-nine forts and, for the sake of completion, (killed) the inmate as the hundredth (**ahám púro mandasānó vy airam náva sākám navatîḥ śámbarasya / śatatamám veśyàm sarvátātā divodāsam atithigvám yád âvam**)." ṚS 1,53,8 "You (i.e. Indra) have killed Karañja and also Parṇaya by the red hot felloe of Atithigva. Not giving way, you have broken Vaṅgṛda's hundred forts (which were) besieged by Ṛjiśvan (**tvám kárañjam utá parṇáyam vadhīs téjiṣṭhayātithigvásya vartaní / tvám śatâ váṅgṛdasyābhinat púro anānudáḥ páriṣūtā ṛjiśvanā**)." ṚS 7,19,5 "These are your shattering deeds, O wielder of the Vajra (thunder-axe), that you entered on the very same day into ninety-nine forts and that, upon entering the hundredth, you slew Vṛtra as well as Namuci (**táva cyautnâni vajrahasta tâni náva yát púro navatím ca sadyáḥ / nivéśane śatatamâviveṣīr áhañ ca vṛtrám námucim utâhan**)." ṚS 7,99,5 "O Indra and Viṣṇu, you two pierced Śambara's ninety-nine strong forts; a hundred and at once a thousand heroes of the Asura Varcin you two slay irresistibly (**indrāviṣṇū dṛṁhitâḥ śámbarasya náva púro navatím ca śnathiṣṭam / śatám varcinaḥ sahásram ca sākám hathó apraty ásurasya vīrân**)." ṚS 6,18,8 "He is the man who can neither fail nor go wrong, (the man) whose name is readily remembered. He (slew) Cumuri and Dhuni. Indra broke the necks of Pipru, Śambara (and) Śuṣṇa, to shatter (their) forts as to lie on the ground for ever (**vṛnák piprum śámbaram śúṣṇam índraḥ purâm cyautnâya śayáthāya nú cit**)." ṚS 6,20,10 "With your help, O Indra, we wish to succeed once again! The Pūrus, therefore, extol (him) with sacrifices because he, aiding Purukutsa, has slain the Dāsa (tribes and) has rent (their) protection, the seven autumnal forts (...**saptá yát púraḥ**

The Sanskrit word **pur-** 'fort' is etymologically related to the Greek word **pólis** 'fortified city'. The Ṛgveda appears to use this word and synonymous expressions almost exclusively only when speaking of the forts of the Dāsas and Dasyus. This is in agreement with the epithet **puraṁ-darā-** 'fort-destroyer' of their war god, Indra, shared also by their fire god Agni, who burned the enemy forts. The Ṛgvedic Aryans never speak of themselves as having a real fort, but instead pray Agni, the god of fire, to be their fort.[141]

Some myths available in several parallel versions in the Brāhmaṇa texts confirm that the Aryans, as could be expected of recently arrived invaders of a country, had no forts themselves. Only their enemies had forts. In these myths the Ṛgvedic Aryans and the Dāsas are represented by their respective deities, the "gods" (**deva**) and ("gods of the enemies" >) "demons" (**asura**).[142] Cf. MS 3,10,5: "The gods, verily, and the Asuras were contending against each other. The Asuras had a stronghold, the gods had none. These (three) worlds were the stronghold of the Asuras. The gods were defeated persistently, for they had no stronghold. They perceived the (three Soma-)pressings as a stronghold. Into them they entered. They (i.e. the pressings) did not stay firm. They (i.e. the gods), verily, perceived the **puroḍāśa**-cakes as a stronghold for the (Soma-)pressings. Them they offered. (Through them) these (Soma-pressings) kept firm. From that time on the gods throve, the Asuras came to naught."[143]

Another significant detail in the later Vedic myths is the threefold structure of the Asura forts, which lives forth in the Hindu myth of the **Tripura** or 'triple fort' of the

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śárma śāradīr dárd dhān dāsīḥ purukútsāya śikṣan)." ṚS 1,174,2 "You, O Indra, subdued the clans of jarring speech, when you rent (their) protection, the seven autumnal forts. O Immaculate one, you made the streaming waters move; to young Purukutsa you made Vṛtra surrender (**dáno viśa indra mṛdhrávācaḥ saptá yát púraḥ śárma śāradīr dárt / ...**)."

[141] Cf. ṚS 1,10,87 "O Agni, we wish to put you around (us) as a fort, as a rampart, O strong one, (you) of daring colour, day by day slayer of the destructive ones." 1,58,8 "O son of strength who are worshipped as a friend, grant us who praise (you) impenetrable defences today! O Agni, protect (your) singer from danger, O son of vigour, with copper forts!" 7,15,14 "And be for us (O Agni,) a large hundred-curved copper fort, unassailable, for the defence of men." 1,189,2 "O Agni, do you once again bring us over all difficulties with your blessings. Be also a broad, thick, wide fort for us (and) health and wealth for our children and descendants." Cf. also ṚS 10,101,8 speaking of "unattackable copper forts". Once the Ṛgvedic Aryans have the river Sarasvatī as their fort: ṚS 7,95,1 "With nourishing flood she has hastened forward: Sarasvatī is a bulwark, a copper fort. As on a highway, the river moves along dragging forth all other waters with its power."

[142] Cf. Rau 1976: 9: "the world of the gods has always and everywhere been fashioned in analogy to the human environment of their worshippers".

[143] Compare AB 1,23,1-2 "The gods and the Asuras contended for these worlds. The Asuras made these worlds as forts (**puraḥ**), just as those who are more mighty and more forceful. They made this (earth) a copper (fort), the air one of silver, and the sky one of gold. Thus they made these worlds forts. The gods said: 'The Asuras have made these worlds as forts, let us make counter-forts in opposition to these worlds.' — 'Be it so', (they replied). They made the **sadas**-shed as a counter-fort to this (earth), the firekindler priest's shed (as a counter-fort) to the air, (and) the **havirdhāna**-shed (as a counter-fort) to the sky. Thus they made counter-forts to these worlds. The gods said: 'Let us have recourse to the **upasads**. By siege, verily, (people) conquer a large fort.' — 'Be it so', (they replied). With the first **upasad** which they performed they (i.e. the gods) repelled them (i.e. the Asuras) from this world; with the second from the air, with the third from the sky. Thus they repelled them from these worlds."

The counter-forts of the gods in these stories are merely symbolic, being elements of the Soma-pressing ritual. For other variants and parallel myths see also MS 3,8,1; GB 2,2,7; KS 24,10; KS 29,1; TS 6,2,3,1-2; ŚB 3,4,4,3-4; 21-22. Cf. also MS 2,1,2; KS 10,3; and TS 2,2,6,1, according to which the gods made Agni Vaiśvānara their stronghold and defeated the Asuras. Cf. Rau 1976: 18-23, 37-40.

demons destroyed by Śiva. It is clear from ŚB 6,3,3,24-25[144] that a **tripura** consisted of three concentric circular walls: "The gods at that time were afraid, thinking, 'We hope the Rakṣas, the fiends, will not slay here this (Agni) of ours!' They drew that fortification (**pur**) round it... Three times he draws a line... a threefold fort he thus makes for him; and hence that threefold fort is the highest form of forts. Each following (circular) line he makes wider..." [145]

Archaeological identification of the Dāsa forts

In 1946, after Sir Mortimer Wheeler had exposed part of the high burnt brick walls that surround the citadel of Harappa, he suggested that the forts of the Dāsas destroyed by the invading Aryans were the fortified Indus cities, because otherwise "we have to assume that, in the short interval which can, at most, have intervened between the end of the Indus civilisation and the first Aryan invasion, an unidentified but formidable civilisation arose in the same region and presented an extensive fortified front to the invaders."[146] As the proposed alternative seemed exceedingly unlikely, Sir Mortimer's hypothesis has been subscribed to by many authorities.[147]

In 1976, Wilhelm Rau published a detailed study of all significant contexts of the word **pur** 'fort' and synonymous terms in the Vedic literature.[148] In his conclusion Rau writes:

> The evidence to be gleaned from the foregoing Vedic passages ... does not fit the cities of the Indus civilization. It rather suggests the existence of numerous, frequently concentric, mud or stone ramparts of round or oval ground-plan, — many times hastily erected — and reinforced by wooden defences, enclosing thatched timber sheds to serve at best as temporary homes but more often to shelter men and their cattle in times of war, water supply and provisions being, therefore, of vital importance. We are not surprised, but would actually expect, to find no traces of such structures remaining in our days. — Towns, — not cities —, are mentioned first at the very end of the Vedic period. Not a word is said in our texts of the characteristic features of the Indus cities, of brick walls, brick houses, brick-paved streets laid out on an orthogonal pattern, of granaries or public baths. No statement in Vedic literature prompts us to assume 'an unidentified but formidable civilization...[which] presented an extensive fortified front to the invaders'.[149]

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[144] This text explains why the priest in the course of the ritual draws three lines around the fire.

[145] Cf. Rau 1976: 25f.

Many Rigvedic hymns speak of the 99 forts of Śambara, which Indra tore open, killing its inmate, Śambara, as the 100th fort (RS 4,26,3). Rau (1976: 24) has suggested that 99 may be a poetic exaggeration for three: "Whenever we hear of *one* individual residing at one and the same time within *many* puraḥ, we must conclude that the latter were built concentrically." Burrow (1977: 74), however, also makes a pertinent point: "Professor Rau has given some evidence that in speaking of a hundred (or ninety-nine) fortifications the Vedic poets had in mind a system of concentric defences. I doubt if this was always so. The hundred forts of Śambara and like phrases represent an ancient tradition handed down through generations as a part of the poets' repertoire. I think that originally the meaning is more likely to have been a hundred separate forts, which is the way it has commonly been understood, and which would be suitable in connection with the conquest of an extensive territory..."

[146] Wheeler 1947: 81-83 and (slightly modified) 1968: 131-133; cf. Rau 1976: 7-8.

[147] Cf. Rau 1976: 9, quoting Stuart Piggott, D.H. Gordon, Robert Heine-Geldern, T. Burrow and Bridget and Raymond Allchin.

[148] Cf. Rau 1976: 17.

[149] Rau 1976: 52.

Klaus Mylius in his review[150] notes that in any case the main conclusion appears to be correct: hereafter it is hardly possible to see the Indus cities in the **puraḥ** of the Veda. But having himself studied the Vedic urbanization, Mylius is also critical in some respects. According to him, Rau ignores or underestimates everything that points to urban functions, to the great size or the central role of the **puraḥ**.[151] In the opinion of Mylius it is also far from certain that the adjective **śārada** in ṚS 6,20,10 does not mean "autumnal" or "old", but "constructed in the autumn", from which Rau draws the conclusion of a hasty erection of the forts.

Thomas Burrow (1977), too, could agree with Rau's conclusion "to a considerable extent", but had also important criticism to offer:

> Nevertheless there are references to forts (**pur**) in connection with the pre-Aryan population who were displaced by the Aryan invaders...so it is going too far to say that they did not present a fortified front to the invader... A passage particularly noteworthy in this context is RV 6,31,4:
>
> **tvám śatâny áva śámbarasya púro jaghantha apratîni dasyoḥ**
>
> ["You have struck down a hundred irresistible forts of Śambara, the Dasyu"]
>
> Here the language, and particularly the use of the adjective **apratîni** suggests a picture corresponding exactly to the 'formidable fortified front' of which Sir Mortimer Wheeler spoke.
>
> The term **dehî** is synonymous with **púr-** as is evident from RV 6,47,2: **purûṇi yáś cyautnâ śámbarasya ví navatíṁ náva ca dehyò hán** ["(he) who (has done) many shattering deeds, who has destroyed Śambara's ninety-nine ramparts"]. Elsewhere **púr-** appears in these contexts. Professor Rau takes **dehî** to mean 'mud rampart' (p. 18), and in this respect he follows the common opinion of his predecessors. It cannot be demonstrated that the term **dehî** had this precise meaning. Related words in other Indo-European languages are commonly used in the sense of city walls (Gr. τεῖχος, Osc. **feihúss**, etc.), and it cannot be disproved that a similar meaning is intended here. The word occurs only twice in the Ṛgveda (6,47,2 and 7,6,5), in both cases in connection with the conquest theme. The term could very well have been applied originally to the fortifications of the Indus cities, and the fact that the word soon fell into disuse could be accounted for by the fact that structures of this kind ceased to exist for a long time after the Aryan conquest.[152]

A major objection to identifying the Dāsa and Dasyu forts with the Indus cities is that the latter were square and not circular or oval in form, and none of them has so far been found to have triple walls. The evidence for the circular and concentric structure of the Dāsa fortifications seems inescapable.

It is not, however, necessary to assume that the Dāsa and Dasyu forts conquered by the Ṛgvedic Aryans were situated in the Indus valley, as Wheeler implied and as has generally been thought. It is true that descendants of Dāsas seem to have survived in the upper Indus valley until later times: the Mahābhārata mentions **Dāsamīya-**[153] as the name of a non-Brahmanical people living in the northwest.[154] It is also true that in ṚS 8,19,36-37 the poet associates the king Trasadasyu with the river Suvāstu (= modern Swat). Even king Sudās is to be placed in the upper Indus valley: his famous victory over the ten kings took place on the river Paruṣṇī (7,18,8-9), which can be identified, with Yāska (Nirukta 9,26), with the river Irāvatī (= modern Ravi) in the Panjab; he also fought

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[150] Mylius 1978.

[151] As such references Mylius mentions ṚS 1,166,8; 1,189,2; 7,15,14; KS 24,11; MS 3,8,1; AB 1,23,2; 2,11,1; and GB 2,2,7.

[152] Burrow 1977: 73-75.

[153] The name appears in Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṁhitā (14,28) in the form **Dāsameya-**.

[154] Cf. Mahābhārata 8, 2056 **vrātyānāṁ dāsamīyānāṁ vāhīkānāṁ ayajvanāṁ**.

on the Yamunā (= the modern Jumna) (7,18,19).[155]

But Trasadasyu and Sudās do not represent the earliest phase in the fight between the Aryans and the Dāsas: Trasadasyu's *father* ,Purukutsa,[156] king of the Pūrus, broke the seven autumnal forts of the enemy and crushed the Dāsas (ṚS 1,63,7; 1,174,2; 6,20,10). Sudās, again, is a *descendent* of Divodāsa,[157] whose enemy, Dāsa Śambara, possessed a hundred (or ninety-nine) forts.

The references to Śambara are found in books I (7), II (4), IV (2), VI (6) and VII (2). The greatest number of hymns (5) referring to Śambara are in book VI. The descriptions of the fight between Śambara and Divodāsa are also most realistic, and apparently the oldest, in book VI. Book VI has 8 references to Dāsas in 7 hymns and 7 references to Dasyus, while book VII (whose central figure is Sudās) has 4 references to Dāsas in 4 hymns and 3 references to Dasyus. On this basis it has been suggested that the enmity between the Dāsas and the Aryans was at its greatest in the period represented by book VI.[158] Now books II, VI and VIII have been shown to contain several indications that the poets lived near or west of the Hindukush.[159]

The earlier fights, therefore, are more likely to have taken place in ancient Bactria, or northern Afghanistan, with which the Vedic Aryans clearly were familiar: the verse ṚS 10,75,6 enumerates as tributaries of the Indus (Sindhu), starting from the north, the rivers Tṛṣṭāmā, Susartu, Rasā, Śvetyā, Kubhā (= modern Kabul), Gomatī (= modern Gumal in Afghanistan), Mehatnu and Krumu (= modern Kurram);[160] Rasā, Anitabhā, Kubhā, and Krumu are mentioned together with Sindhu in ṚS 5,53,9. **(Cf. fig. 2.)** The Paṇis are said to have lived on the far side of the Rasā.[161] In post-Ṛgvedic texts, the references to the Dāsas, Dasyus and Paṇis become scarce and refer to mythical beings: in the plains of north India, these enemies were no longer a part of the everyday life of the Indo-Aryans.

In any case, some of the early Aryans who fought against the Dāsas must have remained to the west of the Hindukush and become Iranianized in the course of time, giving their tribal name to the country of Iran (Modern Persian **Ērān** < Avestan **Airyanąm**). The early followers of Zarathushtra comprised Aryans (Avestan **airya-**), and Darius the Great descended from "an Aryan family" (**ariya^{h}.čiθ^{r}a^{h}**). According to Herodotus (7,62) the Medes were formerly called Aryans (**Árioi**). Haraiva, the Old

155 Cf. Macdonell & Keith 1912: I, 499f.

156 On Puru-kutsa and the birth of Trasa-dasyu, cf. Macdonell & Keith 1912: I, 541f.

157 On Sudās, cf. Macdonell & Keith 1912: II, 454.

158 Cf. Hillebrandt 1891: I, 103; 1902: III, 272. On the distribution of the Paṇis cf. Hillebrandt 1891: I, 84f.

159 On features pointing to Iran in ṚS II, VI and VIII, see Hoffmann 1975: I, 6-15.

160 Cf. Geldner 1951: III, 256.

161 ṚS 10,108,1-2. In JB 2,440-442, the Paṇis hid the cattle of the gods "in a bend of the Rasā river (**rasāyām antaḥ**)", which undoubtedly refers to a fort protected by water on many sides. In the geographical chapter of the Vendidad, the river **Raŋhā** is mentioned last, after Həpta Hindu. In ṚS 5,53,9, Rasā is mentioned together Kúbhā (Greek Kṓphēn, modern Kabul) and Krúmu (modern Kurram), suggesting that Rasā, too, was in the region of the Hindukush. Considering the situation of the Iranian Parnoi (cf. below), and the importance of the river in the Avesta, I am inclined to think that Rasā is another name of the Amu Darya, besides (Sanskrit) Vakṣu = Oxus (cf. Burrow 1973: 126f.)

Persian name of the eastern province south of Bactria, derives its name from the river called Saráyu in Sanskrit,[162] but was early confused with the name of the Aryans.[163]

Until the European colonization, the conquests of India always followed one and the same pattern. The invaders first established themselves in Central Asia and in the eastern parts of the Iranian plateau, and then expanded their power to cover the northwest of India as well. When the invaders in India kept expanding their conquests into the interior, this group was likely to become Indianized and to lose contact with the other part west of the Hindukush.[164] It is most likely that the Dāsas and the Ṛgvedic Aryans both in turn followed this same model in their respective Indian invasions. If this was the case, the Aryans, from whichever direction they came, would have first met the Dāsas and Paṇis on their way in Bactria, before reaching northwest India. This location would be in agreement with the fact that the early Dāsa chief Śambara lived in a mountainous region.

Thus a hypothesis that the enemy forts were already encountered in Bactria is entirely possible and indeed likely.[165] Once this alternative is admitted,[166] the problem of the Dāsa forts can be solved.

In Bactria, during the past few decades, archaeologists have come across a previously unknown civilization, the above-discussed Bronze Age culture of Greater Iran (the Namazga V complex). Hundreds of fortified villages representing this culture have been located in the oases of Bactria and Margiana,[167] but not further west in southern Turkmenistan.[168] Among them is Dashly-3 in northern Afghanistan, dated to c. 2000 B.C.[169] Inside the square walls (150 m side) surrounding the fort are buildings and, amidst them, three circular, concentric walls (**fig.11**).[170] Thus this so-called"temple" of Dashly-3 closely corresponds to the Vedic descriptions of the Dāsa or Asura forts.[171] The

[162] Cf. Kent 1953: 213.

[163] Cf. Diakonoff 1985b: 127 n. 2. According to Iosephus (Arch. Iud. 1,6), the Kabul river (Kōphên) is partly in India, partly in Aria. Strabo defines Aria or Ariana (mentioning both names) several times, quoting his authority: (15,2,8, C. 723) "Eratosthenes ...says that Ariana is bounded on the east by the Indus River, on the south by the great sea, on the north by the Paropamisus mountain and the mountains that follow it as far as the Caspian gates...and the name of Ariana is further extended to a part of Persia and of Media, as also to the Bactrians and Sogdians on the north; for these speak approximately the same language, with but slight variantions" (cf. also 11,10,1, C. 515-6; 11,11,1, C. C. 516; 15,2,1ff., C. 720ff.). Megasthenes quoted in Diodorus Siculus 2,37,6 speaks of the Scythians, Bactrians and **Arianoí** as the peoples inhabiting the countries neighbouring to India.

[164] Cf. Brown 1953: 131f.

[165] This is supported also by the fact that in post-Ṛgvedic texts, the references to the Dāsas and Dasyus become scarce (the word dasyu-, for example, occurs altogether only ten times in the voluminous Brāhmaṇa texts) and refer to mythical beings: these enemies were no more a part of the everyday life of the Indo-Aryans. This would imply that the Dāsas and Dasyus who had entered India in Pre-Vedic times had started calling themselves differently by the Vedic period.

[166] That king Divodāsa's realm was situated on the western side of the Hindukush was suggested already long ago by Brunnhofer and Hillebrandt (1891: I,106; 1902: III, 268 n. 1).

[167] Cf. Francfort 1985a: 228: "The round 'temple', Dashly 3, Afghanistan...which could equally well be a 'palace', stands in the middle of a fortified village. Hundreds of such villages occupied the delta oases of Bactria and Margiana"; Francfort 1985b.

[168] Cf. Sarianidi 1985a: 130.

[169] Cf. Sarianidi 1977: 28ff.; Amiet 1986: 190-207.

[170] Cf. Sarianidi 1986a: 57-64.

"tripura" of Dashly-3 is not an isolated phenomenon in Bactria. The ancient traditions of the Bronze Age have continued there to Achaemenid times in the fortresses of Kutlug-Tepe and At-Tchapar dating from ca. 500 B.C.[172] **(fig. 12)**

The material possessions and bellicosity of the Dāsas

The Ṛgvedic praises of the great wealth obtained from the captured forts of the enemy[173] tally also very well with the Namazga V culture. Of particular significance is the fact that the Dāsas and Dasyus are said to have had gold, weapons, horses, and war chariots, all attested from the aristocratic culture of ancient Bactria and Greater Iran **(cf. figs. 9a, 10a, 13b, 15)**. Cf. ṚS 2,15: "9. You put Cumuri and Dhuni into sleep; you slew the Dasyu, you helped Dabhīti; even the stickbearer found there gold: in the fury of Soma has Indra done this. 4. Having surrounded the draggers of Dabhīti, he burnt all the weapons in the lighted fire; he provided him with cattle, horses and chariots: in the fury of Soma has Indra done this."[174] According to ṚS 10,108, the Paṇis living on the far side of the deep river Rasā guard with their sharp weapons[175] great riches[176] in a treasury rooted in a mountain and full of cattle, horses and valuable goods.[177] This war equipment of the enemy corresponds to the respect and fear felt by the Aryans for the military strength of the Dāsas, which was clearly up to the Aryan level; the hymns speak of the "might" or "power and vigour" of the hostile Dāsas.[178] A most interesting reference in this regard is

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[171] Cf. Parpola 1985: 76-78; Parpola (1984) in press; Norman 1988: 94.

[172] Cf. Sarianidi 1986a: 72-77.

[173] According to ṚS 1,33,4, Indra slew the wealthy Dasyu (**dásyum dhanínam**). In many other hymns, too, the Dāsas and Dasyus are said to have much property or riches (**védas, védanam, vásu, puṣṭáni**), which consisted of such things as cattle, horses, chariots, and gold, usually captured from their forts and divided to his worshippers by Indra, cf. ṚS 2,12,4; 3,34,9; 4,30,13; 8,6,32. ṚS 1,130,7 "O Indra, you broke the 99 forts for Pūru Divodāsa, who greatly worships (you), O dancer, with the thunderbolt to (your) worshipper, O dancer. The formidable (Indra) took Śambara down from the mountain for Atithigva, dividing with his might the great treasures, with his might all the treasures (**bhinát púro navatím indra pūráve divodāsāya máhi dāśúṣe nṛto vájreṇa dāśúṣe nṛto / atithigvâya śámbaram girér ugró ávābharat / mahó dhánāni dáyamāna ójasā viśvā dhánāny ójasā**)." ṚS 6,20,7 "The strong forts of the dragonish Pipru, you, O bolt bearer, tore as with might. O bountiful, you gave this unforgettable wealth as a gift to the sacrificing Ṛjiśvan (**vi pipror áhimāyasya dṛḷháḥ púro vajriñ chávasā ná dardaḥ / sudāman tád rékṇo apramṛṣyám ṛjíśvane dātrám dāśúṣe dāḥ**)."

[174] ṚS 2,15,4 **sá pravolhṝn parigátyā dabhîter viśvam adhāg âyudham iddhé agnaú / sám góbhir áśvair asṛjad ráthebhiḥ sómasya tā máda indraś cakāra.**

[175] ṚS 10,108,5 **asmâkam âyudhā santi tigmâ.**

[176] ṚS 10,108,2 **maháḥ..nidhîn.**

[177] ṚS 10,108,7 **ayám nidhiḥ ..ádribudhno góbhir áśvebhir vásubhir nyṛṣṭaḥ.**

[178] ṚS 8,40,6 "...Subdue the might of the Dāsa! We want to divide his collected goods with Indra... (**...ójo dāsásya dambhaya / vayám tád asya sámbhṛtam vásv indreṇa vi bhajemahi...**)". ṚS 10,54,1 "O Indra, you furthered the gods, you overcame the Dāsa might...(**prâvo devâṁ âtiro dâsam ójaḥ**)." ṚS 1,104,2 "Those (Aryan) men came to Indra for help, let him now immediately come along these ways. May the gods quench the fury of the Dāsa (**devâso manyúṁ dâsasya śamnan**), may they lead our race (lit. colour) to welfare." ṚS 6,25,2-3 "By these (succours) keeping (us) unhurt, O Indra, make the adversaries whom we are meeting tremble, (make) the fury of the enemy (fall). By these (succours) subdue to the Ārya all the hostile Dāsa people everywhere. (**âbhiḥ spṛdho mithatîr árisanyann amitrasya vyathayā manyúm indra / âbhir viśvā abhiyújo viṣūcīr āryāya viśó 'va tārīr dâsīḥ**). Indra, whether it be kinsmen or strangers who have approached and injuriously assailed us, do thou enfeeble and destroy their power and vigour, and put them to flight." ṚS 10,38,3 "O

ṚS 6, 51,14: "Slay down the Paṇi, the devourer; for he is a wolf (**vṛ́ka**)!"[179] This comparison of the enemy with the dreaded predator does not seem accidental, for in ṚS 2,30,4 the word 'wolf' occurs in the proper name of the enemy[180]: "O Bṛhaspati, with (your) burning (arrow, which hits) like a stone, pierce the men of the Asura **Vṛ́ka-dvaras** ('who runs[181] like a wolf')."[182] The four wolves depicted on the golden drinking bowl in the treasure of Quetta (**fig. 15**) and the golden wolf's head from the temple of Altyn Tepe[183] (**fig. 16**) prove that the wolf was an animal of particular significance for the warring aristocracy of the Bronze Age culture of Greater Iran.

Is it a mere coincidence that the Gurgan plain, which housed important sites of this culture such as Tepe Hissar, Tureng Tepe and Shah Tepe, was in antiquity called the "Wolf country"? The name **Gurgān**[184] has developed from Avestan **Vəhrkāna** 'wolf people',[185] which is also the basis of Greek **Hurkanía**.[186] In the Old Persian inscription

much-lauded Indra, whatever ungodly person, Dāsa or Ārya, designs to fight against us (**yó no dâsa âryo vā puruṣṭutâdeva índra yudháye cíketati**), let these enemies be easily subdued by us! May we destroy them in the battle!" ṚS 6,33,3 "O heroic Indra, both these foes, (our) Dāsa as well as Aryan enemies, slay them like trees (dressed) with well fitted garments! Crush them in battles, you manliest of men!" ṚS 8,24,27 "... you, O powerfully valiant (Indra) who did avert the bolt of the Dāsa from the Ārya in (the land of) the seven streams (...**yó vâryāt saptá síndhuṣu / vádhar dāsásya tuvinṛmṇa nīnamaḥ**)." The Paṇis are said to be surpassed in might by Indra (ṚS 7,56,10), a statement which reveals their power.

[179] ṚS 6, 51,14 **jahí ny átriṇaṁ paníṁ vṛ́ko hí ṣáḥ**. Cf. also Hillebrandt 1891: I, 93.

[180] It may well be that the proper name belonging to an Aryan king, **Dasyave Vṛ́ka** 'Wolf for the Dasyus', has its inspiration in such names of the enemy.

[181] The latter part of the compound agrees with Avestan **dvar- dvaraiti** 'to run', corresponding to Sanskrit **dru- dravati** 'to run'; cf. Wackernagel (1918) apud Wüst 1935: 110f., who points out that this dialectal feature endorses the view that the second book of the Ṛgveda was composed in the north-west of India very close to early East Iranian languages.

[182] ṚS 2,30,4 **bṛ́haspate tápuṣâśneva vidhya vṛ́kadvaraso ásurasya vīrân.**

[183] Cf. Masson 1987: 34 & 197 (Abb. 4b).

[184] Since Sassanian times, the river flowing through Gurgan, previously called Maxeras or Maziris, is also called Gurgan.

[185] Cf. Gnoli 1980: 39-41, also for the following. The Zarathuštran religion had not much penetrated Hyrcania, which was, under the name Māzandarān, the home of the bad demons, the **Māzaⁱnya daēva**, of whom the Avesta gives many warnings. **Gurgsārān** 'wolf-headed' and **sagsārān** 'dog-headed' people are in Persian tradition associated with the heretic country of Māzandarān. Ktesias also speaks of 'dog-headed people' (κυνοκέφαλοι) in north India, where Sanskrit sources also mention 'dog-headed people' (**śva-mukha, śuna-mukha**) (cf. Karttunen 1984).

Vendidad 1,11 speaks of a country called Xnənta as "the seat of wolf people" (**vəhrkānō. šayana**). Because the other country names enumerated in this list are in easternmost Iran, it has been assumed that Xnənta is not necessarily Hyrcania. The place called nowadays Urghūn between the Kurram and Gomal rivers in the northern Indus valley is thought to have as its etymology (V)urgūn < Vṛkāna. In Chorasmia, there is also a place called originally (*Urgānj >) Urgenj, Persianized into Gurgānj, and Arabicized into Jurjānīsya.

[186] On Hyrcania, cf. Kiessling 1916. Ktesias (Persica 3) mentions several times people called Βαρκάνιοι, who had the double axe as their weapon. They are thought to have lived near the Hindukush, between Baghlān and Iškāšim; others, however, consider them to be Hyrkanians. According to Stephan of Byzantion, the Βαρκάνιοι were a people neighbouring the Hyrcanians (**éthnos toῖs Hurkanoῖs hómoron**). According to Curtius (3,2,5), the **Barcanii** were marching behind the Medians in the parade of Darius in Babylon, followed by the Hyrcanians and the Armenians; as weapons they had double axes and light cane shields. According to Herodotus (7,62), the Hyrcanian, Median, Persian and Susian troups were together in the army of Xerxes and had essentially the same dress and weapons, which undoubtedly

of Darius I at Bisutun (II, 92f.), this satrapy of the Persian empire is called **Varkāna**.[187]

The etymology of Sanskrit *dāsa*, *dasyu* and *paṇi*

Many scholars have believed that the Dāsas, Dasyus and Paṇis were aboriginals speaking non-Aryan languages because (1) the Ṛgvedic Aryans did not count them among the "Aryans"; (2) because their skin had a darker colour, (3) because they are allegedly said to be flat-nosed, and (4) because they were slaves.[188] However, we must distinguish between the modern use of the name "Aryan" to denote a branch of the Indo-European language family, and the ancient tribal name used of themselves by many, but not necessarily all, peoples who have spoken those languages. The darker skin colour does suggest a racial mixture, but this was to happen to the Vedic Aryans also.

The expression **anā́saḥ**, which is known from ṚS 5,29,10[189] alone,[190] has been segmented **a-nā́saḥ** 'noseless' and used as evidence for the Dasyus' having belonged to a flat-nosed, Negroid or Mongoloid race. However, there is now a wide agreement on the analysis **an-ā́saḥ** 'mouthless', which is likely to mean 'speechless', either in the meaning 'silent'[191] or 'unable to speak (the Aryan language)'.[192]

Nevertheless it seems that the Aryans and the Dāsas, Dasyus and Paṇis understood each other's language.[193] The Ṛgveda repeatedly refers to the enemy's reviling of Indra.[194] A recurring epithet of the enemy is **mṛdhrá-vāc-** 'contemptuously or inimical-

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reflects the close connections of Hyrcania with the Median and Persian civilization. According to Xenophon (Kurou paideia 4,2,1), the Hyrcanians had always been and still were very good horsemen (**eûippoi**), and they served the Persian king as cavalry (Xenophon, Anabasis 7,8,15).

The name "wolf-people" has been assumed to be totemistic. But it might be also connected with the funerary rites of the Hyrcanian people: according to Greek and Latin sources, among the Hyrcanians it is the custom to let dogs (and among the Bactrians birds) devour the bodies of the deceased (cf. Plutarch's Moralia 499; Porphyry, De abstinentia 4,21; Sextus Empiricus, Hypotyposes 3,227; Cicero, Tusc. Disp. 1, 45 & 108).s In this case there would be no connection with the Namazga V culture.

[187] Avestan **vəhrka-** 'wolf' corresponds to Old Persian **varka-** and Sanskrit **vṛka-** 'wolf'.

[188] Cf. e.g. Keith 1925: I, 8ff., 129; Renou 1953: 5f.; Gonda 1960: I, 54; Walker 1968: I, 34f.; Maloney 1974: 44.

[189] ṚS 5,29,10 "...You slew the speechless Dasyus with the weapon, you threw down into the bad place those who speak contemptuously (**anā́so dásyūṁr amṛṇo vadhéṇa ní duryoṇá āvṛṇaṅ mṛdhrávācaḥ**)." Elsewhere the same phrase is specifically applied to Śuṣṇa is mentioned in the first half of this verse, cf. below.

[190] The plural accusative **ávācaḥ**, occurring in a similar context in ṚS 4,25,6 would be a synonym, 'speechless', if it was from the word **a-vā́c-**, but the parallel phrases in AS 13,1,30 and JB 1,123 show it to be from **avā́ñc-** 'lying down'.

[191] I would opt for this meaning, thinking that **vāg-yamana** in the sense of AB 5,24 is meant. Silence is connected with verbal contests: in Vetāla-pañcaviṁśatikā, for example, the king who is to answer the riddles put on him by the demon is bound by the vow of silence. For silence in verbal contests, cf. also Falk 1986: 35.

[192] Cf. Oldenberg 1917: 151 n. 2, and Greek **á-stomos**, both 'mouthless' and 'speechless, silent'.

[193] Linguistic contacts are implied already by the knowledge of the names of the Dāsa kings.

[194] Below I will argue for a Dāsa origin of Durgā's cult, including specifically the **Śābarotsava**, Durgā's great autumnal feast. In this feast all the participants must abuse each other. According to the Kālikā-Purāṇa, "the sending away of Devī should be made with festivals in the manner of śabaras, viz. people may make merry to their heart's content by throwing dust and mud, with auspicious sports and revelry, with indulgence in words and songs referring to male and female organs and with words expressive of the sexual act. The Devī becomes angry with him who does not abuse another and whom others do not

ly speaking'.[195] I would like to suggest that this word refers to the threats of smashing the adversary's head in verbal contests,[196] which were a most important element in the Vrātya tradition to be discussed in a moment.[197] **Mṛdhrá-vāc-**, then, would be a synonym of **ví-vāc-**, yet another characterization of the enemy,[198] which means 'disputing, quarrelling', or 'solving (a question or riddle)'.[199]

In classical Sanskrit, the word **dāsa-** denotes 'slave'. This meaning is found already three times in the Ṛgveda.[200] Among many peoples, the word for 'slave' has its origin in the ethnic name of the people taken as war captives, e.g.English **slave** < captive **Slav**,[201] or Finnish **orja** < Volga-Finnic (or Proto-Finno-Ugric?) ***orja**[202] < Proto-Aryan or Proto-Iranian ***arya- / *ārya** 'Aryan'.[203] Sanskrit **dāsa-**, therefore, is quite likely originally an ethnic name.

In Old Iranian, Proto-Aryan **s** has become **h**.[204] In Old Persian an ethnic name **Daha-** is attested, also as a proper noun in the administrative tablets found at Persepolis; the masculine plural is used as the name of a province of the Persian empire, placed before the similarly used name of the Sakas in a Persepolis inscription of Xerxes (h 26).[205] In the Greek sources Herodotus (1,125) is the first to mention the people called

abuse and pronounces on him a terrible curse" (Kane 1958: V.1, 177)..

[195] For this meaning, cf. Mayrhofer 1963: II, 595f. In ṚS 7,18,13, Pūru, the eponym of one of the Aryan clans, is also said to be **mṛdhrá-vāc-** ("in a council" **vidáthe**). The epithet **mṛdhrá-vāc-** seems to be associated specifically with the mythical Dāsa demon Śuṣṇa 'drought', the enemy of Kutsa. Śuṣṇa is undoubtedly spoken of in ṚS 5,32,8: "He (i.e. Indra) with his great weapon has hidden down in the bad womb (i.e. grave?) the footless devourer, the **mṛdhra-vāc-** (**apādam atrám mahatā́ vadhéna ní duryoṇá āvṛṇan mṛdhrávācam**)". The same thing is put in slightly different but synonymous words in ṚS 1,174,7 "...Make the earth a pillow for the Dāsa (i.e. strike him to lie on the ground)!...May he bring the Kuyavāc into a bad womb, in disrespect (or neglect, **mṛdh-**) (...**kṣā́m dāsā́yopabárhaṇīm kaḥ...ní duryoṇé kúyavācam mṛdhí śret**)"; this hymn mentions Kutsa in verse 5, and the **mṛdhrávācaḥ** peoples (**viśaḥ**) in verse 2. The word **kúyavāc-**, which is known from this place only and is sometimes translated "welsher" (cf. **ku-** 'bad' and **vāc-** 'speech'), is generally accepted to be an analogical corruption of **kú-yava-** '(causing) bad barley (harvest)', which is often an epithet of Śuṣṇa 'drought' (ṚS 2,19,6; 6,31,3; 7,19,2).

[196] Cf. Witzel 1987b. In a forthcoming paper on the etymology of Sanskrit **bali**, I am approaching this theme from another angle.

[197] Cf. Falk 1986: 35, 44ff., 94ff.

[198] In ṚS 10,23,5 Indra is said with his (mere) voice to have slain many thousands of enemies, who were **vívācaḥ** (**yó vācā́ vívāco mṛdhrávācaḥ purū́ sahásrāsivā jaghā́na**).

[199] The verb **vi + vac-** means 'to declare, announce, explain, solve (a question)', and the analogous **vi + vad-** 'to contest, dispute, quarrel'. For **vi-vāc-** as a verbal contest, see Kuiper 1960: 268ff.

[200] ṚS 7,86,7 "absolved of my sin, I would do service to the angered god, like a slave to his master" (**áram dāsó ná mīḷhúṣe karāṇi...**); ṚS 8,56,2-3 "The Wolf for the Dasyu, the son of Pūtakratu, donated to me ten thousand (cows) of his own wealth, 3. a hundred asses, a hundred wool sheep, a hundred slaves (or Dāsas) (**satám dāsā́n**), in addition garlands"; ṚS 10,62,10 "and two well trained slaves for serving (food) (**dāsā́ pariviṣe smáddiṣṭī**) together with cows have Yadu and Turva donated".

[201] Cf. Macdonell 1897: 157f..

[202] Here **j** stands for the semivowel **y**. Cf. Joki 1973: 297. For Finno-Ugric ***o** : Proto-Aryan ***ā**, cf. now Janhunen in Koivulehto 1987: 207.

[203] This implies that Aryans who lived in the Russian steppes were taken captives-in-war by the neighbouring Finno-Ugric peoples.

[204] This change took place in early Iranian in all positions except before **n** and before and after stops. Cf. Hoffmann 1958: 3.

Dáoi, as a nomadic tribe of the Persians. More accurate information on them, however, is delivered by Alexander's historians.[206] According to Q.Curtius Rufus (8,3) and Ptolemy's Geography (6,10,2), the Dahas lived on the lower course of the river Margos (modern Murghab) or in the northern steppe area of Margiana. Pomponius Mela (3,42), based on Eratosthenes, tells that the great bend of the river Oxus towards the northwest begins near the Dahas (**iuxta Dahas**). Tacitus (Ann. 11,10) places the Dahae on the northern border of Areia, mentioning the river Sindes (modern Tejend) as the border.[207] These placements agree neatly with that of the Namazga V culture of Margiana and Bactria.

In the language of the Sakas living in Khotan in Chinese Turkestan (western Xinjiang) between 7th and 10th centuries A.D., there is a very common word **daha-** meaning 'male person (contrasted with **strīyā-** 'woman'); man (not boy); man of courage'; it is used for translating Buddhist Sanskrit **puruṣa-** 'man' and **nara-** 'man'.[208] This East Iranian word meaning 'man' provides a good etymology for the ethnic name **Daha-** < ***Dasa-**, because many people all over the world have found it natural to call themselves 'men', cf. e.g. (in northern Europe) Cheremish **mari** 'man, husband, Cheremish', (in southern Siberia) Yenisei Ostyak **ket** 'man, Yenisei Ostyak', (in eastern Siberia) Gilyak **nivh** 'man, Gilyak', (in Africa) Bantu **ba-ntu** 'men; Bantu'.[209]

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[205] In the Avesta, there is a corresponding ethnic name of a people already at least partly confessing to the Zarathuštran religion: Yast 13,143-4 "We praise the pious forefather from the Aryan lands, from the Tūrya lands, from the lands of the Sarima and the Saini, and from the Dāha lands (**Dāhinąm daiŋhunąm**)"; Bundahišn 15 similarly speaks of Daian regions. (On the Avestan geography, see Gnoli 1980.) Apparently the Dahas were also enemies of other Iranian peoples, for the adjective **dāhāka-** means 'demoniac, inimical', and is applied to the "dragon" **Aži**, corresponding to the Vedic **Ahi**, probably originally an ancient snake deity worshipped by the Dāsas (the snake occupies a very prominent position in the iconography of the Namazga V-VI seals of Bactria and Margiana, cf. Sarianidi 1986b). Cf. also Middle Parthian (Turfan) **dāhīft** 'servitude' and New Persian **dāh** 'servant' < Old Iranian **dāha-** (Bailey 1960: 108).

[206] These writers speak of **Dáai**, **Dāai**, or (in Strabo) **Dáoi**; the form **Dásai** in Stephan of Byzantion (216 Mein.) may represent an attempt to write the intervocalic **-h-** lacking in Greek, omitted in other Greek sources but preserved in the Latin form Dahae. Cf. Eilers & Mayrhofer 1960: 108, 118, 133; Morgenstierne 1926: 55; Bailey 1960: 109. For the Daai or Dahae in the Greek and Latin sources, cf. Tomaschek 1901; and Aalto & Pekkanen 1975: 166-170.

[207] Describing Darius' army at the battle of Gaugamela, Arrianus (Anabasis 3,11,3) tells that "the left wing was held by the Bactrian cavalry with the Dahae and Arachotians"; in Bactria, "the Dahae who live on this side of the river Tanais [= Iaxartes, Syr-darya]" at first ravaged the country together with the Persians and the Bactrians themselves, and then crossed the river Oxus [Amu-darya] towards Sogdiana (Anab. 3,28). In his battle against Porus in India, Alexander had in his troops Dahae, who were mounted archers and whom he selected to accompany him together with the cavalry from Bactria and Sogdiana and the Scythian horsemen (Anab. 5,12 **toùs ek Báktrōn kai Sogdianōn kai toùs Skūthas hippéas kai Dáas toús hippotoxótas**). Antiochos III Megas, too, had Dahas in his army when he fought against the Romans (Polybios 5, 79; Appian. Syr. 32; Livius 34,48; 37, 38 & 41). The Dahae were not only excellent mounted archers, but also skilled foot soldiers (Suidas s.v. agathós); Vergilius, Aeneis 8, 728 calls them **indomiti**; cf. also Lucan. 7,429.

[208] Cf. Bailey 1960: 107.

[209] Cf. Bailey 1960: 107ff. for this etymology (first proposed by Konow 1912) and for the semantics of Dāsa/Daha and Dasyu/dahyu; also Bailey 1979: 155; Mayrhofer 1963, II: 29; 1973: p. 146 # 8.330, and p. 281; Kent 1953: 56, 190f.; Hillebrandt 1891: I, 94ff; 1902: III, 267-277, 284-293; Oldenberg 1917: 150 n. 1; Zimmer 1879: 109ff.; Lassen 1867: I, 633ff.; Kane 1941: II.1, 26; Burrow 1973: 41.

In the Ṛgvedic hymns the Aryans, too, are called "men" (**mā́nuṣa-**, also **nar-**). In ṚS 7,5,2-3 the "human peoples" (**mā́nuṣīr víśaḥ**) are contrasted with the "black peoples" (**ásiknīr víśaḥ**), in ṚS 10,22,8 with "inhumans" (**á-mānuṣa**). ṚS 5,7,10 contrasts Dasyus and "men" (**dásyūn...nṝ́n**), while in ṚS 8,59,11; 8,70,11; and elsewhere the Dasyus are called "inhuman" (**á-mānuṣa-**). The epithet "inhuman" has sometimes been taken as a proof for the purely mythical character of these "demons", but it simply means "not belonging to us", since these enemies were not descended from the same ancestor as the Aryans, namely **Manu** 'man', the mythical first man and ancestor of the human race.[210] The words **mánu-**, **mánus-**, **manuṣyá-**, **mā́nuṣa-** and **mānavá-** all denote 'man', which may be assumed to have been the original meaning of **dása-** and its derivatives **dāsa-** and **dasyu-** in the language of the Dāsas.[211]

The word **dása-**[212] is actually attested in only one place in Sanskrit literature; here it must be understood as the proper name of the mythical ancestor of the Dāsas and Dasyus ('men') just as Manu (also mentioned here) is the the ancestor of the **mānuṣa-** 'man'. Significantly, Dasa is here the predecessor of Manu, i.e. he represents the older inhabitants of the country, now replaced by the newcomers, descendants of Manu.[213]

The identical meaning of the words Dāsa and Dasyu in the Veda is clear from e.g. ṚS 10,22,8, and from the fact that e.g. Śambara is called both Dāsa (ṚS 4,30,14; 6,26,5; etc.) and Dasyu (ṚS 6,31,4). Sanskrit **dasyu-** corresponds to Old Iranian **dahyu-** 'land, (administrative) province, district (of a province)';[214] but the meaning 'man' seems to survive in the present-day East Iranian language of Waxī, spoken in the Hindukush, where the words **dāi, ðāi, ðayək** (< ***dahyu-**) mean 'man, youth, hero'.[215]

The Paṇis and the Iranian Parnas

It has been suggested that the Dāsa fights of the sixth book of the Ṛgveda at least partly took place in Arachosia in the eastern part of the Iranian plateau, because the Dāsas, Paṇis and Bṛsayas mentioned as enemies of Divodāsa on the Sarasvatī[216] fit in with the

[210] In ṚS 9,92,5, Manu stands for the Aryan man, whom Soma has delivered, while he has arrested the Dasyu (**prā́van mánum dásyave kar abhī́kam**); the same opposition between **mánu(s)-** and **dasyu-** is found also in ṚS 8,87,6 and Vāl. 2,8. In ṚS 4,26,1, Indra calls himself **manu**, and in ṚS 2,11,10 he stands as **mā́nuṣa-** against the Dānava, who is **á-mānuṣa-**.

[211] Cf. Bailey 1960: 113f., comparing Romani **das** 'man' (of other peoples).

[212] The Indo-Iranian root **das-** may go back to Indo-European ***dos-** , which has been posited through the comparison with Greek (Ionic & Attic) **doũlos**, (Doric) **dõlos** 'slave' < Mycenaean **doelos** (written **do-e-ro**) 'bondman, slave, servant' < ***dohelos** < ***doselos.** Cf. Chadwick 1973: 541; Bailey 1960: 109.

[213] ṚS 6,21,11 "Now come here... with all the (gods) worthy of sacrifice... who made Manu the successor to Dasa" (**yé mánum cakrúr úparam dā́sāya**). Cf. Bailey 1960: 113.

[214] Cf. further Christian Sogdian **dyx'w** 'village', Modern Persian **dih, deh** 'district, village'. Buddhist Sogdian **δ'yh** (where **-y-** < **-hy-**) 'maidservant' (Bailey 1960: 108, 110).

[215] Cf. Bailey 1960: 108.

[216] ṚS 1,93,4 "Agni and Soma! This heroic feat of yours is well known, that you robbed from the Paṇi his food, the cows. You pressed down the descendants of Bṛsaya and found the one light for many (**ágnīṣomā céti tád vīryàṁ vāṁ yád ámuṣṇītam avasáṁ paṇím gā́ḥ / ávātirataṁ bṛ́sayasya śéṣó 'vindatam jyótir ékaṁ bahúbhyaḥ**)." ṚS 6,61,1 "She donated to the worshipping Vadhryaśva (as son) the powerful Divodāsa, who paid the debt (to the ancestors), she who exhausted the Paṇi of his plentiful food – these, O Sarasvatī, are your strong gifts (**iyám adadād rabhasám ṛṇacyútaṁ divo-**

evidence we have from the Iranian and classical sources of the peoples who lived in Arachosia.[217] Here **Sárasvatī** indeed seems less likely to be the stream in Haryana in India than in the province of the Persian empire called in Greek **Arakhōsía** and in Old Persian **Hara^{h}uvatī**, in Younger Avesta **Harax^{v}a^{i}tī**. During Alexander's expedition in the 4th century B.C., a man called **Barsaéntēs** was the Satrap of Arachosia and Drangiana.[218] The name comes very close to **Bṛsaya**, mentioned as the ancestor of the Paṇis living on the Sarasvatī.[219]

The Ṛgveda counts the Paṇis among the Dāsas and Dasyus.[220] It cannot be a mere coincidence that Strabo (11,9,2) has preserved information that a people called **Párnoi** belonged to the Da(h)as.[221] They are said to have lived previously in Margiana, from where they founded the Arsacid empire of Parthia.[222] Due to this movement from the east

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dāsaṁ vadhryaśvāya dāśúṣe / yā́ śáśvantam ācakhādāvasā́ṁ paṇím tā́ te dātrāṇi taviṣā́ sarasvati)"; 2. "With roaring strong waves she broke the back of the mountains like a root-digger. With praises, with prayers, we would like to ask the Pārāvata-killing Sarasvatī for assistance (**iyáṁ śúṣmebhir bisakhā́ ivārujat sā́nu girīṇā́ṁ taviṣébhir ūrmíbhiḥ / pārāvataghnīm ávase suvṛktíbhiḥ sárasvatīm á vivāsema dhītíbhiḥ**)"; 3. "O Sarasvatī, throw down the haters of the gods, all the descendants of Bṛsaya, who possess magic powers; you obtained for (our) peoples the river beds, for them you flowed poison, O you possessed of swift mares (**sárasvati devanido ní barhaya prajā́ṁ víśvasya bṛ́sayasya māyínaḥ / utá kṣitíbhyo 'vánīr avindo viṣáṁ ebhyo asravo vājinīvati**)."

217 Cf. Hillebrandt 1891: I, 96ff.

218 Cf. Arrian's Anabasis 3,8,4 "Barsaentes, satrap of the Arachotians, led both the Arachotians and the Indian hillmen, as they were called..."; 3,21,1 "Nabarzanes..., Bessus satrap of Bactria and Barsaentes satrap of the Arachotians and Drangians [= Zarangians] had arrested Darius"; 3,25,8 "Alexander...marched towards the territory of the Zarangaeans, and arrived at the place where their palace was. Barsaentes, who was then in occupation of the country, and was one of those who had joined in attacking Darius on his flight, on learning that Alexander was approaching, fled to the Indians on this side of the river Indus; but they seized him..."

219 Cf. Hillebrandt 1891: I, 100f. For the difference in the ablaut grade, though, compare that assumed to prevail between the Greek form **Párnoi** and Sanskrit **Paṇi-** < ***Pṛṇi-** (see below). The **Pārāvatas** mentioned together with the Paṇis in ṚS 6,61,1-3 have been plausibly compared with the **Parouētai** of Areia in Ptolemy 6,50,1 (cf. Hillebrandt 1891: I, 97f.).

220 In ṚS 7,6,3, the religion of the Paṇis is spoken of in terms very similar to those used of the religion of the Dāsas and Dasyus, and in fact they are also called Dasyus in this same verse: "Thou hast (thrown) down the Paṇis, who are without (proper) understanding, who are binding (?), who speak contemptuously, who do not have faith, who do not increase (the strength of the gods with hymns), and who do not sacrifice. Agni has driven these Dasyus further and further; he, the first, has made the unsacrificing ones the last (**ny ákratūn grathino mṛdhrávācaḥ paṇíṁr aśraddhā́ṁ avṛdhā́ṁ ayajñā́n / prá pra tā́n dásyūṁr agnír vivāva pū́rvaś cakārāparā́ṁ áyajyūn**). ṚS 5,34,6 mentions Dāsa as the enemy of the Arya, the following verse Paṇi. Cf. further AS 5,11,6: "Let the Paṇis be of degraded speech, let the Dāsas creep downward to the earth." (The expression **adhó-vacasaḥ** 'of degraded speech' is probably to be emended into **adhó-varcasaḥ** 'of degraded power'; cf. Whitney 1905: I, 238.) Cf. Hillebrandt 1891: I, 94f.

221 Cf. Brunnhofer 1886: 115; Hillebrandt 1891: I, 94ff.

222 Strabo describes the foundation of the Parthian empire of the Arsacids around 240 B.C. as follows: (11,9,2, C. 515) "Then Arsakes, a Scythian man, who had (in his command) some men of the Da(h)as, namely nomads called Parnoi, who were living along the river Ochos (modern Tejend), invaded Parthia and conquered it (**epeit' Arsákēs, anēr Skúthēs, tō̃n Daō̃n tinàs ékhōn toùs Párnous kalouménous nomádas, paroikoūsntas tòn Ókhon, epē̃lthen epì tē̃n Parthualan kai ekrátēsen autē̃s**)". Strabo comments a little later (11,9,3 C 515, transl. H. L. Jones): "They say that the Parnian Dāae were emigrants from the Dāae above Lake Maeotis [i.e. the Sea of Azof], who are called Xandii or Parii. But the view is not altogether accepted that the Dāae are a part of the Scythians who lived

to west, the Dahae came to live on the east coast of the Caspian Sea, north of Hyrcania (Gurgan), where a district called Dahistān, known since medieval times, still exists.[223] The Greek form of the name, **Párnos<** (from Iranian ***Parna-**),[224] corresponds to Sanskrit **Paṇí-**, if it is assumed to be a "Prakritic" development of the reduced grade form ***Pṛní-**. The full grade seems to be found in the name **Parṇáya-** attested as an enemy of the king (Divodāsa) Atithigva in ṚS 1,53,8 and 10,48,8. These names may go back to the same Aryan verbal root as the name of the Dāsa king **Pipru**, namely **pṛ-** (present **píparti, pṛṇāti**) 'to bring over, rescue, protect, excel, be able'. The **ar** : **ṛ** variation reflects a dialectal difference within Indo-Iranian.[225]

Some other proper names of the Dāsa chiefs are also clearly of Aryan origin, for example **Varcín-** 'possessed of (vital) power' (cf. ṚS **várcas** = Avestan **var°čah** 'vital power').

The etymologies of the names used by the Ṛgvedic Aryans of their enemies thus speak for their above suggested identification with the carriers of the Bronze Age culture of Greater Iran, and for the proposal that these were speakers of an Aryan language.

The religion of the Dāsas

An encounter of two cultures, such as that between the Ṛgvedic Aryans and the Dāsas, implies an acculturation process. Empirical studies have shown that acculturation usually takes place in several successive phases, typically consisting of (1) an initial phase, when the two cultures first meet each other; (2) a reaction, which may be positive or negative, and which in a positive case usually leads to selective loans; (3) a stabilizing phase, which involves a onesided or mutual restructuring of the encountering cultures; and (4) a final

about Maeotis. **(phasì dè toùs Párnous Dáas metanástas eînai ek tôn hupèr tês Maiôtidos Daôn, hoùs Xandíous ê Parioús kaloûsin. ou pánu d' hômológētai Dáas eînai tinas tôn hupèr tês Maiôtidos Skuthôn)**. At any rate, some say that Arsaces derives his origin from the Scythians, whereas others say that he was a Bactrian, and that when in flight from the enlarged power of Diodotus and his followers he caused Parthia to revolt."

223 Cf. Strabo (11,7,1, C. 508, transl. H. L. Jones): "Those nomads, however, who live along the coast on the left as one sails into the Caspian Sea are by the writers of to-day called Dăae, I mean, those who are surnamed Parni; then, in front of them, intervenes a desert country; and next comes Hyrcania, where the Caspian resembles an open sea to the point where it borders on the Median and Armenian mountains"; (11,8,2-3, C. 511 transl. H. L. Jones): "Now the greater part of the Scythians, beginning at the Caspian Sea, are called Dăae, but those who are situated more to the east than these are named Massagetae and Sacae, whereas all the rest are given the general name of Scythians, though each people is given a separate name of its own. They are all for the most part nomads...And as for the Dăae, some of them are called Aparni, some Xanthii, and some Pissuri. Now of these the Aparni are situated closest to Hyrcania and the part of the sea that borders on it, but the remainder extend even as far as the country stretches parallel to Aria. 3. Between them (i.e. the Aparnian Dăae) and Hyrcania and Parthia and extending as far as the Arians is a great waterless desert, which they traversed by long marches and then overran Hyrcania, Nesaea, and the plains of the Parthians. And these people agreed to pay tribute, and the tribute was to allow the invaders at certain appointed times to overrun the country and to carry off booty. But when the invaders overran their country more than the agreement allowed, war ensued, and in turn their quarrels were composed and new wars were begun. Such is the life of the other nomads also, who are always attacking their neighbours and then in turn settling their differences."

224 The text and translation in notes 102-103 have been partly modified to bring them in accordance with the manuscripts of Strabo: they read **Párnous** in 11,9,2 and 3 as well as in 11,7,1 (v.l. **Spárnous**), and **Apárnous** in 11,8,2 (twice), which form Jones adopts everywhere.

225 On the dialectal difference between **ar** and **ṛ** in Aryan, cf. Bailey 1960: 73.

phase, in which the borrowings are consolidated, or the cultures fully fuse together.[226] Such phases can indeed be discerned in the formation of the Vedic literature. They are revealed by changes in the language as well as in the literary form and content of the texts.

Several successive layers can be distinguished in the Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā, the oldest Vedic text collection. The "family books" II-VII, each ascribed to composers belonging to a specific family, have a uniform arrangement not followed in the other books: every book begins with hymns addressed to Agni, sorted in the order of their metres, then come the hymns to Indra, and so forth. Book IX is equally old, comprising hymns to Clarifying Soma collected from the family books into a separate liturgical compendium after some later hymns forming book VIII were added to the original core. Finally, the latest books, I and X, were added at the beginning and end.[227]

On the whole, the oldest books of the Ṛgveda are relatively faithful to a common Indo-Iranian heritage.[228] Indra, the god of thunder and war and the king of the Devas, is by far the most popular deity of the Ṛgveda, about 250 of its 1028 hymns being devoted to him. Over and over again, the poets discuss Indra's exploits, especially his fight with the arch-enemy called Vṛtra 'obstruction', the snake-like demon of drought, who has imprisoned the waters in the dark cloud.[229]

Another recurrent theme is the relatively simple Soma cult. At its centre was Soma, Indra's favourite drink, which stimulated physical powers and thus helped the warrior in his task. The Soma juice came from stalks of the deified Soma plant, most probably Ephedra, found growing in mountains. It was prepared by pressing the stalks, after repeated soakings in water. After mixing Soma with water and milk, it was partly drunk by the worshippers, partly offered into the mouth of the gods, the sacrificial fire.[230]

Agni, 'Fire' (cf. Latin **ignis**), the divine sacrificer (**hotar**) and Indra's aid in destroying the enemy's forts, is next in popularity after Indra and Soma. Agni is wise and eloquent like the human Hotar, whose duty it was to compose and recite hymns (**ṛc**-) in praise of the gods and to invite them to the Soma feast. Besides the implements needed in the preparation of Soma and the sacrificial fire, the sacrificial place contained little beyond a shallow bed dug out and covered with grass for the gods to sit on.[231]

The dialectal isoglosses between the Ṛgvedic and the Avestan language are parallelled by common religious terminology, which proves that a similar religion was practised also in ancient Iran before the Zarathuštran reform. Thus the name of the Old Iranian god **Vərəthra-gna** "slayer of Vərəthra" equals Indra's epithet **Vṛtra-han**; Avestan **haoma** equals Vedic **soma**; **zaotar** equals **hotar**; **manthra** equals **mantra** 'pious thought, prayer, hymn'; and **barəsman** compares with **barhis** 'sacred grass'.[232]

The Ṛgvedic hymns describing the battles with the inimical Dāsas refer also to their

[226] Cf. Hultkrantz 1973: 214.
[227] Cf. e.g. Gonda 1975: 8-14.
[228] Cf. Gonda 1960: I, 60.
[229] Cf. Gonda 1960: I, 53ff.
[230] Cf. Gonda 1960: I, 62ff.
[231] Cf. Gonda 1960: I, 67ff.
[232] Cf. e.g. Hillebrandt 1897: 11; Gonda 1960: I, 108.

quite dissimilar religion. These testimonia represent the initial phase of acculturation. The poets stress the differences in religion between the Aryan worshippers of Indra and their adversaries: ṚS 10,22,8 "The Dasyu, not performing (Aryan) sacrifices (**a-karmán-**), without (pious) thoughts (**a-mantú-**), observing other rites (**anyá-vrata-**) and inhuman (**á-mānuṣa-**), is against us: do you, O slayer of our foes, subdue the weapon of this Dāsa."

The enemies did not press Soma, the invigorating drink which formed the main offering in the cult of Indra,[233] and hence did not worship Indra but were his enemies.[234] ṚS 4,25,7 "Indra, who drinks the pressed Soma, does not assent to the friendship of the wealthy Paṇi, who does not press Soma: he takes away his property, he beats him asunder and naked. He exists only for the Soma-presser, for the cooker (of offering cakes)." ṚS 8,70: "7. O long-lived god, let not a godless mortal (**á-devaḥ... mártyaḥ**) obtain prosperity... 10. Thou, Indra, lovest our rites; thou tramplest down those that revile thee (**tvā-nídaḥ**); thou, vigorous hero, guard thyself in thy vital parts (lit. thighs); thou has smitten the Dāsa with thy blows. 11. Let his own friend mountain (**párvata-**), let the mountain (where he lives) strike down to swift destruction the Dasyu, who observes different rites (**anyá-vrata-**), who is inhuman (**á-mānuṣam**), he does not perform (Aryan) sacrifices (**á-yajvan-**), nor regard the (Aryan) gods (**á-deva-yu-**)."

Indra's adversaries (**an-indrāḥ**) do not utter praises (ṚS 5,2,3 **án-ukthāḥ**) nor do they sing laudatory hymns (**an-ṛc-**, ṚS 10,105,8 etc.). Hence the Dāsas did not sing war-songs like the Aryans did, praising and thus strengthening Indra: ṚS 3,34,1, "Indra, the breaker of the forts, has overcome the Dāsa with hymns (**arkaíḥ**), the finder of wealth, scattering the enemies; incited by the holy hymn (**brāhma-jūtaḥ**), growing greatly with his body, the giver of plenty filled both halves of the world".[235]

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[233] ṚS 8,62,12 "Great is the death for him who does not press soma; for one who does press soma, many are the days, and good for him Indra's gifts." ṚS 1,132,4 "Subject to those who press soma every irreligious, the irreligious however wrathful! (**sunvádbhyo randhayā kám cid avratám hṛṇāyántam cid avratám**)" ṚS 1,51,8 "Distinguish between the Aryans and those who are Dasyus: Chastising those who do not observe the sacred rites (of the Aryans), subject them to him (i.e. the sacrificer) who spreads the sacred grass. Be a strong supporter of the sacrificer. I desire all these (benefits) at thy drinking feasts (**vi jānīhy āryān yé ca dásyavo barhíṣmate randhayā śāsad avratān / śākī bhava yájamānasya coditā viśvét tā te sadhamādeṣu cākana**). ṚS 10,86,19 "Here come I, Indra, perceiving and distinguishing the Dāsa and the Aryan; I enjoy the pressed Soma and the cooked food..."

The Paṇis are wealthy but ungenerous (**a-rādhás-**), and should be trampled down by Indra (ṚS 8,64,2 **padā paṇīṁr arādháso ni bādhasva**), whereas the (Aryan) pressers of Soma are generous. Thus in ṚS 8,97,2, Indra is asked to give horses and cattle to the sacrificer (**yájamāne**), who presses the Soma drink (**sunvatī**) and who gives sacrificial gifts (**dákṣiṇāvati**), but not to the Paṇi. The Dasyus, too, are ungenerous (**á-pṛnat-**, ṚS 5,7,10). The wealth of the Paṇis consists in cattle and horses, and it is robbed from them by Indra or by Agni and Soma and is given to the pious pressers of the Soma drink (ṚS 1,83,4; 5,34,7; 6,13,3; 6,20,4; 6,33,2; 8,64,7). An old verse preserved in VS 35,1 asserts: "Let the Paṇis, who are adverse (**asumnāḥ**) and who revile (or despise) the gods (**deva-pīyavaḥ**), go away from here! The world belongs to this presser of the Soma-drink (**sutāvat-**)."

[234] The adjective **an-indrá-** 'not worshipping Indra', usually qualifying a noun meaning 'enemy', occurs half a dozen times in the Ṛgveda, e.g. ṚS 10,48,7 "Why do the the enemies, who do not worship Indra, rivile me (Indra)? (**kíṁ mā nindanti śátravo 'nindrāḥ**)" This undoubtedly refers to the Dāsas, Dasyus and Paṇis (the Dasyus are mentioned in verse 2 of the same hymn, and the next verse, 8, mentions by name Parṇaya and Karañja, enemies of king Atithigva). Indra is called "a slayer of the Dasyus".

[235] ṚS 3,34,1 **índraḥ pūrbhíd ātirad dāsám arkaír vidádvasur dáyamāno ví śátrūn /**

Asuras, the enemy gods, and their magic power

Instead of Soma offerings and hymns, the enemy had something else: ṚS 4,16,9 "the Dasyu who has magic powers but is without holy hymns has perished."[236] **Māyá-**, 'magic or illusory power',[237] is even elsewhere associated with the Dāsas and Dasyus, and must have been an important component of their religion. Thus according to ṚS 10,73,7, Agni has slain Dāsa Namuci and taken away his magic power.[238] In the end, however, Indra seems to have appropriated the enemy's magic power himself, and beaten him with his own tricks: ṚS 1,51,5 "With magic powers (**māyábhiḥ**) you blew away the possessors of magic powers (**māyinaḥ**), who according to their habits poured libations over their shoulders;[239] you broke the forts of Pipru, O manly one; you helped Ṛjiśvan further in the fights with the Dasyus."[240] A few other specific details of the enemy's religion are given in ṚS 8,14,14-15: "You, Indra, have hurled down the Dasyus, who, by their magic powers (**māyábhiḥ**), were creeping upwards (**utsísṛpsataḥ**), and seeking to scale heaven (**dyáṁ ārúrukṣataḥ**).[241] You, Indra, made the assembly of those who do not press Soma (**asunvám...saṁsádam**) utterly vanish in all directions; as a Soma drinker you were superior. "

Māyá, 'magic power', is especially appropriate to the Asuras.[242] Several Dāsas are called "Asura" or "son of Asura": thus Pipru (Dāsa in ṚS 8,32,2; Asura in ṚS 6,18,8; 10,138,3) and Varcin (Dāsa in ṚS 4,30,15; 6,47,21; Asura in ṚS 7,99,5). The two versions of the Atharvaveda and the oldest Yajurvedic Saṁhitās share a verse with interesting variants: the expressions "enemy" (**śátru-**), "Dasyu" and "Asura" alternate with each other: "by him (i.e. Indra) the gods overcame the enemies (variant: Dasyus); the Lord of Might (i.e. Indra) (variant: with his might [he]) became the slayer of the Dasyus (variant: Asuras)".[243] Later the word "**ásura-** almost exclusively denotes 'demons': in the myths told in the Brāhmaṇas, the Asuras contend with the 'gods' (**deva**) and are eventually subdued and driven out by the latter. Actually this theme is already found in the latest book of the Ṛgveda, cf. ṚS 10,53,4 and 10,157,4. In the older books of the Ṛgveda, the word **ásura-** is an epithet of many of the gods as well, but especially of such gods who possess the magic power of **māyá**, the first and foremost of them being Varuṇa or Mitra-

bráhmajūtas tanvā́ vāvṛdhānó bhúridātra ápṛṇad ródasī ubhé.

236 ṚS 4,16,9 **ní māyā́vān ábrahmā dásyur arta.**

237 On **māyā́-**, see especially Gonda 1965: 164ff.; Goudriaan 1978.

238 ṚS 10,73,7 **dā́saṁ kṛṇvā́naḥ ... vimā́yam.**

239 Here the commentator Sāyaṇa refers to KB 7,3 and ŚB 5,1,1,1, according to which the Asuras did not pour the sacrificial libations into the holy fire but into their own mouths.

240 ṚS 1,51,5 **tvám māyā́bhir ápa māyíno 'dhamaḥ svadhā́bhir yé ádhi śúptāv ájuhvata / tvám pípror nṛmaṇaḥ prā́rujaḥ púraḥ prá ṛjíśvānaṁ dasyuhátyeṣv āvitha.**

241 The express purpose of many śrauta rites in the later Vedic ritual is to reach heaven.

242 In an Atharvavedic mantra addressed to an amulet (AS 19,46,2), the Paṇis (mentioned here together with the Dasyus) are called sorcerers (**yātudhānāḥ**): "Standing upright, defend this man unremittingly, O unsubdued one; let not the Paṇis, the sorcerers, damage thee; as Indra the Dasyus, (so) do thou shake down them that fight (us); overpower and scatter all our rivals: let the unsubdued one defend thee."

243 ASP 1,106,4 **téna devā́ vyàsahanta śátrūn hantā́surāṇām abhavac chacīpátiḥ**; ASŚ 3,10,12 **téna devā́ vyàsahanta śátrūn hantā́ dā́syūnām abhavac chacīpátiḥ**; TS 4,3,11,3; KS 39,10; MS 2,13,10 **téna dā́syūn vyàsahanta devā́ hantā́surāṇām abhavac chácībhiḥ.**

and-Varuṇa, who rule the universe, upholding the cosmic law "with the magic power of Asura" (ṚS 5,63,3 & 7 **ásurasya māyáyā**): ṚS 5,85,5 "I shall well proclaim this great magic power of Varuṇa, the famous Asura..."[244]

In the Avesta, the highest god of the Zarathuštran pantheon is Ahura Mazdāh, a counterpart of Varuṇa Asura, while the Avesta speaks of Indra as a **daēva**-, 'demon'. In the Veda the corresponding Sanskrit word **deva**- means 'god', a meaning which **daēva**- may be assumed to have had in the pre-Zarathuštran religion of Iran, against which the prophet's reform was directed. Ahura Mazdāh, again, seems to go back to the leading deity of the still earlier pre-**daēva** religion of Iran, whose cult had been suppressed in the meanwhile by the **haoma** (< ***sauma**) offering worshippers of the **daēva**, but which had nevertheless continued among the people until it was resuscitated and brought to the surface again by Zarathuštra.[245]

In India, Indra is a "slayer of the Dasyus" (**dasyu-hán**-, ṚS 1,100,12; etc.), and he is an exclusive deity of the five Aryan clans (**páñcajanya**- ṚS 1,100,12), as is the divine chief priest Agni, the god of fire (ṚS 9,66,20). Indra (as well as Agni, cf. ṚS 7,13,1) is also called "Asura-killer" (**asura-hán**-) in the old hymns of the Ṛgveda, such as ṚS 6,22,4 (in verses 6 and 9 of the same hymn, Indra is said to have smashed the demon who had grown big with the magic power, **māyá**, and with his thunderbolt in the right hand, he will destroy all the **māyás**). In ṚS 8,96,9, Indra is invoked to scatter away "the godless Asuras" who are without weapons.[246] It is true that in the late hymns, such as ṚS 10,99,2, Indra, too, is called an Asura; "but it is generally conceded that this is due to a secondary extension".[247]

Amalgamation of the Aryan and Dāsa religions

What has evidently happened by this stage is an amalgamation of the two opposing religions, that of the Dāsas and that of the Aryans. The Ṛgveda plainly tells us that after the defeat of the Asuras, Varuṇa was asked to join the ranks of the Devas. These words are put into Indra's mouth in ṚS 10,124,5: "The Asuras have now lost their magic power. If you, Varuṇa, will love me, then, O king who distinguishes the wrong from the right, come to the overlordship of my kingdom!"[248] In the hymn ṚS 4,42, Varuṇa says (in verse 2): "I, Varuṇa, am the sovereign; it was I who was first destined to be Asura. The gods follow the advice of Varuṇa...", while (in verse 7) he admits that Indra is right in saying (verse 5-6) that he is the unparallelled god of war, insuperable in his fury created by Soma and by hymns of praise.[249]

The incorporation of the principal deity of the subdued people into their pantheon by

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[244] ṚS 5,85,5 **imâm ū ṣv âsurásya śrutásya mahîṁ māyâṁ váruṇasya prá vocam.**

[245] This is a much debated point in the Vedic and Avestan religions. See e.g. Horsch 1966: 234ff., whose views I share to a large extent. Contra e.g. Kuiper 1979: 33.

[246] ṚS 8,96,9 **anāyudhāso ásurā adevâḥ.**

[247] Kuiper 1979: 7f.

[248] ṚS 10,124,5 **nírmāyā u tyé ásurā abhūvan tvám ca mā varuṇa kāmáyāse / ṛténa rājann ánṛtaṁ viviñcán máma rāṣṭrásyâdhipatyam éhi.**

[249] On these hymns cf. Kuiper 1979: 22ff. with further literature.

the conquerors is an old and effective method to secure the loyalty of newly won subjects and to undermine the power of resistance of a rival religion. Another indicator of Varuṇa's external origin is the relatively small number of hymns addressed to him, which is out of all proportion to his importance. Similar remarks apply to Rudra, who in the Ṛgveda is called an Asura (5,42,11) or "the great Asura of heaven" (2,1,6) and who in the later Vedic religion is a god of paramount significance.[250]

The above quoted hymn ṚS 4,42 was composed on behalf of king Trasadasyu to *both* Indra *and* Varuṇa. The name of this king, Trasa-dasyu 'who makes the Dasyu tremble', suggests that the adoption of Varuṇa into the Vedic pantheon took place very early, while the fights with the Dāsas and Dasyus were still taking place. The name of king Divodāsa, 'Dāsa of Heaven', also seems to imply an intimate contact with the Dāsas — perhaps through matrimonial alliance. His descendent Sudās likewise worships *both* Indra *and* Varuṇa.

Some early hymns indeed sound like propaganda against Aryans entering into an alliance with the irreligious enemy, which implies that alliances of this kind actually were taking place. One such passage is ṚS 5,34,5-7, where the Dāsas and the Paṇis are spoken of in the same breath and contrasted with the (Aryan) Soma sacrificer: "Indra does not associate himself with anyone, however rich he be, who does not press (the Soma drink). 6...Averse from him who does not press (the Soma drink) and a furtherer of him who does press, the terrifying Indra, the subduer of everyone, an Aryan, leads the Dāsa as he likes. 7. He drives together the property of the Paṇi to rob him, he distributes the delightful wealth to his pious worshipper. A whole clan cannot withstand long even in a citadel (lit. inaccessible place) once they have provoked his outrage."[251]

In fact, some hymns do specify individual Dāsa chiefs as protégés of Indra, who (unlike the enemies of the early hymns) give rich gifts to the Vedic singers: ṚS 8,46,32 "A hundred (camels) I, inspired poet, got at (the court of) Dāsa Balbūtha Tarukṣa. O Vāyu, these people of yours rejoice protected by Indra, rejoice protected by the gods".

The above considerations concerning the blending of the Aryan and Dāsa religions have important chronological implications, for Indra and Varuṇa are *both* included among the oath deities in the pact of the Mitanni king *Śāti-vāja with the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma I, dated to c. 1380 B.C. This suggests that the Mitanni Aryans are descended from the mixture of the Ṛgvedic Aryans and the Dāsas, and that this amalgamation probably took place before 1550 B.C.

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250 Cf. Gonda 1960: I, 85.

251 ṚS 5,34,7 **sám īm paṇér ajati bhójanam muṣé vi dāśúṣe bhajati sūnáraṁ vásu / durgé caná dhriyate viśva á purú jáno yó asya táviṣīm ácukrudhat.** In the same vein is the passage ṚS 4,25,5-7, which also accentuates the religious contrasts between the Aryans and the Paṇis: "5... Dear to Indra is the doer of good deeds (**sukṛt**), dear is the devoted (**manāyúḥ**), dear is the well heeding (**suprāvīḥ**), dear to him is he who has the Soma drink (**somī**). 6. This quickly vanquishing hero, Indra, appropriates only the cooked-offering of the well-heeding Soma-presser. He is no ally, no friend, no relative of anyone, who does not press Soma. The badly heeding ones he strikes down. 7. Indra, who drinks the pressed Soma, does not assent to the friendship of the wealthy Paṇi, who does not press Soma (**ná revátā paṇinā sakhyám indró 'sunvatā sutapâḥ sám gṛṇīte**): he takes away his property, he beats him asunder and naked. He exists only for the Soma-presser, for the cooker (of offering cakes)."

Archaeological identification of the Sauma Aryans

The historical reconstruction suggested so far implies a Proto-Aryan homeland in the steppes of south Russia and two separate early waves of Aryan speakers in Greater Iran and in India. In such a reconstruction, the traditional term "Indo-Iranian" for the common elements shared by Old Indo-Aryan and Old Iranian is too simplistic. The Aryans of the earlier wave including the Dāsas could be called "Proto-South Aryans". Since the Ṛgveda clearly states that the Dāsas did not offer Soma (< *Sauma), the main cultic drink of the Vedic and (as Haoma < *Sauma) the Zarathuštran ritual, the Aryans of the second wave which brought the Soma religion to Iran and India can be called "Sauma Aryans".[252]

The identification of the fortified temple of Dashly-3 as a Dāsa fort directs the archaeological search for the Sauma-Aryans to the forces responsible for the collapse of the Bronze Age urban civilization in southern Turkmenia and northeastern Iran. At the shift of the Namazga V and VI periods, a drastic change took place throughout this vast area: some sites were abandoned, but most of them dwindled severely in size, becoming mere villages, while artisan and commercial activities regressed.[253]

> Various hypotheses have been formulated in order to explain the collapse of urbanization in Southern Turkmenia, but up to now we do not have any clear proof in favour of one of the many theories... Sometimes the decline of urbanization in Turkmenia has been ascribed to the nomad populations close to the Andronovo culture, perhaps to be identified with the Indo-Iranians marching southwards. In fact, as Hlopina, Masson and Sarianidi clearly indicated, Andronovo-type sherds (or, in some cases, whole pots) have been found in almost all Namazga VI sites, but in layers datable to the end of this period; while the crisis, as we have seen, begins in late NMZ V. Moreover, there are no traces of violent destruction, burning and other related phenomena, generally associated by archaeologists with invasions and population shifts. Sarianidi believes that the relations among the two cultural groups have been peaceful.[254]

The Vedic texts leave no doubt about the burning of Dāsa forts by the Sauma Aryans. Perhaps future excavations will discover evidence of this. Actually, the above quoted statement is not quite exact, because there is the "Burnt Building" of Hissar IIIB[255], even if the fire is said to have been very limited.[256] Nearby Yarim Tepe is said to have been destroyed at the same time.[257] If we are to think in terms of an invasion, the advance of the steppe cultures in the second millennium B.C. provides the most likely explanation of the crisis of urbanization in southern Central Asia and north-eastern Iran.

The Timber Grave culture (**fig. 17**) evolved around 2000 B.C., after the Hut Grave phase (c. 2800-2000), from the "Kurgan" culture of the Pit Graves in the south Russian steppes, which, as we have seen, has with good reason been linked with Proto-Indo-European in its latest phase. The continuity between these cultures is very clear in their burial rites, dwellings and antropomorphology, although gradual economic and techno-

252 Cf. Falk 1986: 50.

253 Cf. Biscione 1977: 114; Gardin 1985: 41.

254 Biscione 1977: 115.

255 Cf. Schmidt 1937: 157-171. Cf. also Diakonoff 1985b: 54 n. 2. Schmidt interpreted the "Burnt Building" as a citadel, but Dyson, who re-examined it, considers it a private abode of some rich merchant; cf. Amiet 1980: 566f.; 1986: 185.

256 Cf. Forest 1985: 320f.

257 Cf. Dyson 1973: 687, 689.

logical changes took place.[258]

The Timber Grave culture is classified into three main periods. The early Timber Grave or Poltavka phase (c. 2000-1800 B.C.)[259] was confined to the lower Volga basin. At the beginning of the classical Timber Grave phase (c. 1800-1100 B.C.) the culture expanded westwards to the Don and Donets river basins and to the area north of the Sea of Azov, submerging the earlier North Pontic Catacomb Grave culture of these regions. At the same time it spread northwards and to the southern Urals, which became its metallurgical centre, and, with a gap to the north and east of the Caspian Sea, it also reached Turkmenia.[260] During its late phase (c.1100-800 B.C.), the Timber Grave culture reached the lower Dnieper and lower Dniester areas.[261]

The Andronovo culture (**fig. 17**), which in the course of the second millennium spread over vast areas of the Eurasian steppes, came into being in the southern Urals. The early Timber Grave and Abashevo cultures were clearly important formative elements of it.[262] The classification and chronology of the Andronovo culture has been and still is much debated,[263] but the main phases nowadays distinguished are: Proto-Alakul' or Petrov (c. 1700-1500 B.C.), Alakul' and Fedorovo (c. 1500-1200 B.C.) and late variants including Cherkaskul' and Alekseev (c. 1200-900 B.C.). The Petrov sites are in the southern Urals and in northern Kazakhstan, while the Alakul' sites spread to central Kazakhstan and the Fedorovo sites to eastern Kazakhstan and to the basins of the Ob and Yenisei rivers in southern Siberia.[264] The Tazabag"yab culture that flourished south of the Aral Sea in the 15th to 9th centuries B.C. is considered as resulting from a synthesis of Timber Grave and Andronovo elements with the local Suyargan culture. It was in contact with the Namazga VI culture of southern Central Asia.[265] Around 1300-1100 B.C. the Andronovo culture expanded also westwards to the middle Volga area.[266]

The earliest evidence of the gradual spread of the Andronovo culture to southern Central Asia dates from about 1500-1200 B.C., but becomes more intensive about 1200-900 B.C. In spite of their wide distribution (including Anau, El'ken, Namazga, Sermancha, Tekkem, Auchin, Takhirbaj 3, 13, 15, Gonur 1, Taip, etc.), the Andronovo traits in the Namazga VI related sites are relatively rare. It is assumed that this reflects a rapid adoption of the local culture by their carriers.[267] **(Fig. 17)**.

The blending of the Andronovo (Fedorovo) culture and the urban culture of southern Central Asia is most clearly demonstrated in south Tadjikistan, in the cemeteries of Tulkhar and Aruktau situated in the valley of Beshkent at the mouth of the Kafirnigan

[258] Cf. Gimbutas 1965: 531ff.

[259] Kuz'mina (1988:49) dates the Poltavka phase to c. 1800-1600 B.C.

[260] Cf. Masson & Sarianidi 1972: 146-154; Kuz'mina 1988: 49f.

[261] Cf. Gimbutas 1965: 530, 546ff.

[262] Cf. Smirnov & Kuz'mina 1977; Potemkina 1983; Kuz'mina 1988: 44f.; Chlenova 1984: 88f.

[263] For a detailed and up-to-date summary with references, see Kuz'mina 1988. For a somewhat dated basic collection of the evidence relating to the Andronovo culture, see Chernikov 1960.

[264] Cf. Kuz'mina 1988: 45f.

[265] Cf. Gimbutas 1965: 528-530; Kuz'mina 1988: 50f.

[266] Cf. Gimbutas 1965: 562.

[267] Cf. Jettmar 1972: 70-75; Masson 1985: 32f., 35; Kuz'mina 1985; 1988: 46ff.

river, and in the nearby valley of the river Vakhsh (like Kafirnigan, a tributary of the Amu-Darya river). Here more than three hundred late Bronze Age graves have been excavated, dating between c. 1300 and 900 B.C. While the ceramics and metallurgy, on the whole, point to the Namazga VI culture of northern Bactria in its final phase (named after Molali Tepe), certain elements seem to originate from the northern steppes, more specifically in the late Alekseev variant of the Andronovo culture. These steppe elements comprise cremation burial, raising a barrow over the grave, some types of metal objects and ceramic peculiarities, and the use of the swastika motif.[268]

An important hint to the origin of the Sauma Aryans and their route of advance is supplied by the fact that "there was an Iranian people, additional to the Avestan, whom the Persians knew to be devoted to Hauma. These were the Saka nomads whose name is given as Haumawarga in inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes. There is at present virtual agreement among scholars... that the territories of the Haumawarga Sakas extended from Tashkent to the Alei valley, including Ferghana as centre-piece."[269] This is well in agreement with the hypothesis that the Sauma Aryans were Andronovo nomads.

The old hypothesis that the carriers of the Andronovo culture were ancestors of the later Iranians and Indo-Aryans[270] is endorsed especially by many Soviet archaeologists. In recent years they have been arguing that the immigrations from the northern steppes were a partial cause of the collapse of the Bronge Age civilization of Greater Iran, and that they represented the arrival of the Aryans associated with the Ṛgveda and the Avesta. Deriving the Andronovo culture from the early Timber Grave culture, they stress that these two cultures cover an area full of toponyms of Aryan etymology. Moreover, the northern border of the Timber Grave and Andronovo sites is in the Middle Volga region and the Urals, which most likely were occupied by speakers of Finno-Ugric languages, which have many Aryan loanwords.[271]

The Mitanni Aryans and the light-wheeled horse chariot

The Mitanni oath, as interpreted above in the light of the Vedic texts, suggests that the decisive thrust of the Sauma Aryans took place in the 16th century at the latest. It has been argued that the Andronovo culture is too late to qualify as the founder of the Mitanni kingdom, where, in fact, no Andronovo vestiges have been discovered.[272] We have seen

[268] Cf. Mandel'shtam 1968: 137f.; Masson 1985: 35; Kuz'mina 1985: 290; 1988: 48f.; P'jankova 1986: 74-76.

[269] Gershevitch 1974: 54. Cf. also Munji **Brayāyo** 'Munjān' < ***Haumavarga*** (cf. Mayrhofer 1976: III, 505).

[270] Tallgren 1928: 188; 1938: 120 n. 2; cf. Jettmar 1972: 65; Chlenova 1984: 88.

[271] Cf. especially Chlenova 1984; Jettmar 1972: 65-68, 70-74; Smirnov & Kuz'mina 1977; Kuz'mina 1985, 1988; cf. also Asimov 1981; Klejn 1984: 57f.

[272] Klejn (1984) therefore proposes a genetic relationship between the different catacomb grave cultures of the North Pontic region (c. 2000-1500 B.C.), the catacomb graves of the Sumbar valley in Dahistan (c. 1800-1600 B.C.), of the Zaman Baba culture in Ferghana (c. 2000-1500 B.C.), of the Vakhš and Bišķent cultures in Feghana (c. 1500-800 B.C.), and of Syria, Palestine and the Mitanni region (c. 1900-1600 B.C.). "It was initially thought that, moving from the Black Sea area towards India, these remains are progressively younger, but this idea has proved to be wrong... It would rather appear that these are vestiges of peoples who migrated in one or several waves in approximately same time period." (p. 60)

Klejn's migration hypothesis is not in agreement, for example, with the conclusions of Igor N.

above that the presence of both Indra and Varuṇa among the Mitanni oath deities suggests that the Mitanni Aryans stem from a fusion of the Dāsas (i.e. Namazga V related Bactrians with forts) worshipping Varuṇa and of the Sauma Aryans (i.e. foreign invaders) worshipping Indra. If the latter were Proto-Andronovo people, they are likely to have adopted the local Bactrian culture before continuing further to the Mitanni kingdom on the one hand and to India on the other. Thus the absence of Andronovo material in the Mitanni area does not ruin the hypothesis that the Mitanni Aryans may partly derive from the Andronovo cultures of the northern steppes.

That the Mitanni Aryans probably came from Bactria and Margiana and in any case maintained a close connection with these regions during the Mitanni period (via Gurgan or Khorasan)[273] is suggested by the presence of the Bactrian camel[274] and of possible peacocks[275] in the Mitanni seals. Moreover, the form of the cylinder seals found in Margiana and Sibri is evidently derived from Syria. Pierre Amiet has pointed out that a cylinder seal from the Gonur phase (corresponding to Namazga VI) in Margiana is divided into two registers by means of a plait, in a manner initiated in Syria in the 18th century. **(Fig. 18)** Also, a bifacial square seal from Margiana bears the motif of winged disk[276], which is an Egyptian creation immediately adopted in Syria in the 18th century B.C.[277] One of the principal iconographic motifs in the seals of Bactria and Margiana, the griffin **(fig. 8)**, is found in virtually the same form in many seals of Cappadocia and northern Syria from the 18th century onwards.[278]The gray-black polished ceramic characteristic of Tepe Hissar and the Gurgan sites is entirely absent from southern Turkmenistan during the Namazga V period, but appears in Margiana in the Namazga VI

Khlopin, who has excavated in the Sumbar valley. The catacomb graves of the late Bronze Age as well as their pottery form one phase of an unbroken local tradition of south Turkmenia from the 4th millennium to the present day (Chlopin 1986: 49-51). Khlopin admits close contacts with the neighbouring cultural zone of northeastern Iran (from Tepe Sialk V-VI and Tepe Hissar IIIB-C to Namazga V-VI), but considers the late Bronze Age culture of Dahistan distinct from that cultural sphere (Chlopin 1986: 31-34, 47f.).

Klejn's starting point is the conclusion that the Aryan branch has split into Indo-Aryan and Iranian already in south Russia. However, the basis of this conclusion, Abaev's analysis of certain Aryan loanwords in Finno-Ugric languages (Abaev 1981: 85f.), is most controversial, as may be seen from the treatment of the same words by Joki (1973).

273 We have seen that one of the ceramic types characteristic of the Mitanni kingdom, Black Polished Ware, is similar to the pottery of the Gurgan plain (with Shah Tepe and Tureng Tepe) and Tepe Hissar, where the Polished Black and Gray Ware constituted the main ceramic tradition during the whole of the third millennium and well down into the second. It has been thought that the spread of Grey Polished Ware to western Iran at the end of the Hissar IIIC period was accompanied by a population movement. Cf. Ghirshman 1977: 9-11; Young 1967: 24; Jarrige 1985a: 106.

274 Osteological evidence for Bactrians camels is available for Turkmenia in the Namazga IV and V periods. Cf. Brentjes 1987: 135, who refers to Gordon (1939, pl. 7, 55) and Moortgat (1932, pl. 11,2) for the Mitanni seals; Collon 1987: 161 no. 738 (a Syrian seal showing deities riding a two-humped Bactrian camel); Collon (1988) in press. For a cylinder seal from Taip Depe in Margiana with the motif of Bactrian camel, cf. Sarianidi 1986a: 276 no. 131 = Collon 1987: 143 no. 596; for a rectangular serpentine amulet with a two-humped camel, cf. ibid. 261 no. 120.

275 Cf. Brentjes 1981b; 1987: 135.

276 The "winged disk" appears to represent, in the seals of Bactria and Margiana, the sun with its rays, understood as a human face with hair and beard (cf. Sarianidi 1986b: fig. 7-8: nos. 15 vs. 13 & 16).

277 Amiet 1986: 190.

278 This was kindly pointed out to me by Dr Robert Whiting.

period. This may also reflect the Mitanni ties with Bactria and Margiana.[279]

Excavations carried out in 1972-74 on the Sintashta river just east of the southern Urals have brought to light interesting new evidence of a Proto-Andronovo culture with early Timber Grave affinities. The forty tombs contain much Proto-Andronovo (Pre-Alakul') pottery linked with the Novyj Kumak horizon, dated to about the 17th or 16th centuries B.C.[280] Moreover, this Sintashta cemetery supplies the earliest evidence of light horse-drawn chariots in the Central Asian steppes. Five graves contained remains of chariots with two 10-spoked wheels and their horses, buried together with aristocratic warriors under barrows. **(Fig. 19)** Thus the chariotry of the steppes was at this time more advanced than that of the ancient Near East, where most of the wheels until about 1400 B.C. continued to have only four spokes.[281] The early Andronovo culture thus had the potential to introduce new chariot technology into the ancient Near East, where the Mitannians appear as masters in chariotry. In fact, one Syrian seal dated to c. 1750-1600 B.C. shows a war chariot with two eight-spoked wheels.[282]

Contacts with the east

Dated to about 1500 B.C., only slightly later than the Sintashta cemetery, waterlogged barrows at Lchashen, midway between the Caspian and Black Seas, have revealed two very well preserved chariots with 28 spokes in each of their two wheels. These chariots are closely similar to the Chinese chariots of the Shang dynasty (c. 1200-1170 B.C.), which had two wheels with 18 to 26 spokes each.[283] Evidence for the far ranging diffusion implied is supplied by numerous rock paintings depicting horse and chariot in Tajikistan, the Pamirs, Kirgizia, Kazakhstan, Tuva, the Altai and Mongolia, most of all in southern Kazakhstan.[284] That the introduction of horse and chariot as symbols of nobility in Shang dynasty China involved the Namazga V-VI culture of southern Bactria and Margiana [285] is suggested by a parallel spread of metallurgy from Bactria to the steppes.[286] This is strikingly evidenced by bronze seals discovered by missionaries in the 1920's in the Ordos region of northwestern China: these clearly have their prototypes in the seals of Bactria and Margiana.[287] **(Fig. 20)** Remains of silk cloths from the graves in the square fort of Sapalli Tepe in northern Bactria is also evidence for relations with China.[288]

The Andronovo culture must have played a pivotal role in the diffusion of the Iranian

[279] Cf. Masson 1985: 35.

[280] Cf. Smirnov & Kuz'mina 1977; Potemkina 1983; Kuz'mina 1988: 44f.; Chlenova 1984: 88f.

[281] Cf. Gening 1977; Piggott 1975; 1983: 91f.; Häusler 1983: 222f.; Masson 1985: 35; Littauer & Crouwel 1980: 347; Shaughnessy 1988: 200f.

[282] Cf. Moorey 1986: 207 pl. 5 (= Collon 1987: 160f. no. 729).

[283] Cf. Piggott 1974; 1983: 95-97; Shaughnessy 1988: 190-208.

[284] Cf. Leont'ev 1980; Jettmar 1983c: 231f.; Shaughnessy 1988: 202-208 (with illustrations).

[285] Cf. Piggott 1974; 1975; 1978; Hüttel 1979; Jettmar 1983b: 40; 1983c: 232; Shaughnessy 1988.

[286] Cf. Jettmar 1971: 14; 1972: 76f.

[287] Cf. Amiet 1977: 119f. & fig. 21; 1986: 199 & 320, fig. 187-188; Kohl 1981: xxii and fig. 2a & 2b; Biscione 1983; Brentjes 1987: 132f.

[288] Cf. Amiet 1986: 192.

language in the Eurasian steppes.[289] Long ago Karl Jettmar, suggesting that the chariot and metal technology dispersed to the steppes from Bactria and Margiana, thought that this was accompanied by a gradual linguistic Aryanization of the steppes, which in his view could be a relatively late phenomenon, so that e.g. the early phase of the Andronovo culture was not necessarily Aryan-speaking.[290] Jettmar further connected the appearance of the Tokharians in east Turkestan with the links that existed between China and the agricultural centres of the west across Bactria,[291] pointing out that the Pit Grave culture of south Russia does not explain these links.[292] The new evidence from the cemetery of Sintashta now calls for a reconsideration of this hypothesis.

Tokharian, which was spoken in Chinese Turkestan,[293] might rather be connected with the nomadic Afanas'evo culture[294] that flourished in the south Siberian steppes in the late third and early second millennia B.C. and is seen as "an easterly representative of the south Russian Pit-Grave Culture".[295] Another possibility is the post-Afanas'evo Tazmin culture, which created the distinctive stone stelae of the Minussinsk steppe depicting various animals (including horses) but especially horned human faces.[296] Some petroglyphs with clearly related horned faces and horses have been recently recognized far to the south, on the upper course of the Indus river in Chilas in Karakorum.[297] (**Fig. 21**) The carriers of the Afanas'evo culture and their successors, the Andronovo people of the Siberian steppes (c. 1600-1300 B.C.), were the easternmost known representatives of the Europoid anthropological type.[298] The Karasuk culture (c. 1300-700 B.C.) is considered a direct continuation of the Andronovo culture without any change of population[299] and it is in turn continued by the various local cultures of the "early nomads" (related to the Scythians and Sarmatians)[300] like the Tagar culture of Yenisei (c. 600-100 B.C.)[301]

Two probable Tokharian loanwords[302] and four more or less certain Iranian loan-

289 Cf. Jettmar 1972: 65-66.

290 Cf. Jettmar 1972: 81f.

291 On the Tocharians cf. also Pulleyblank 1983: 456ff.

292 Cf. Jettmar 1983c: 231. For the contacts between China and the west, cf. Schaeffer 1948: 598ff.

293 For Tokharian, cf. Cowgill 1986: 48f.

294 Cf. Janhunen 1983: 116; for the archaeology of south Siberia, cf. Grjasnow 1970.

295 Piggott 1974: 21, with further references. Cf. also Phillips 1961: 316f., 319; Thomas 1982: 81.

296 For drawings of a large number of such stelae, cf. Vadetskaya et al. 1980. These stelae were long connected with the Okunevo culture, which flourished in the south Siberian steppes c. 2000 B.C. and was connected with a Mongoloid population that probably arrived from the north and had nothing in common with the Afanas'evo culture (cf. Grjasnow 1970: 83ff.). However, recent excavations have shown that the Okunevo culture had only inherited the stelae from an older "Tazmin" culture, about which not much is yet known (cf. Kyzlasov 1986).

297 Cf. Jettmar 1983b: 38f.; Jettmar 1985: 755f.; Jettmar & Thewalt 1987: 12. Could these petroglyphs mark the coming of tribes speaking an Indo-European language of the centum group, traces of which seem to survive in an Indo-Aryan dialect spoken in Kumaon (cf. Zoller 1987)?

298 Cf. Grjasnow 1970: 82, 104, 107.

299 Cf. Grjasnow 1970: 134ff.

300 Cf. Grjasnow 1970: 168ff.

301 Cf. Grjasnow 1970: 222ff.

302 Cf. Janhunen 1983: 119-121: Proto-Samoyed *sejt^{3}wə 'seven' cf. Toch. A ṣpät, ṣäptä-, B ṣukt

words[303] in Proto-Samoyed "are apparently sufficient to prove that some concrete ethnic contacts really took place in the past between the linguistic ancestors of the Samoyeds and some of the early Indo-European speaking groups in the northeast", probably within a continuum spanning from the Afanas'evo through Tagar cultures.[304]

Togolok-21

The Ṛgvedic language is connected with Old Iranian by some phonological[305] and morphological[306] innovations, and the Ṛgveda also shares with the Avesta a number of identical phrases.[307] Moreover, the Ṛgvedic Aryans called themselves "Aryas", as did the Avestan, Median and Old Persian speakers and at least a part of the "Iranian" speaking steppe nomads (the Ossetes of Transcaucasia). The Ṛgvedic Aryans, the Pre-Zarathuštran Aryans and the Mitanni Aryans, therefore, should all belong to the same hypothetical first wave of Proto-Andronovo immigrants that are supposed to have submerged the late Namazga V culture; in their language the "Iranian" change **s** > **h** had not yet taken place.

Very recent archaeological discoveries from Margiana now enable us to view the situation from a new perspective. A huge rectangular building complex measuring 130 x 100 m excavated at Togolok-21 (**fig.23**) has been identified, undoubtedly correctly, as a temple "used by proto-Zoroastrians whose religious beliefs and rites became (in changed form) part of official Zoroastrianism."[308] The most spectacular discovery at Togolok-21 is the earliest evidence of Haoma cult. The old problem concerning the original identity of the plant called in Avesta **Haoma** and in the Ṛgveda **Soma** was ably reviewed in 1987 by Harry Falk, who convincingly opted for the identification with Ephedra.[309] In the northeast corner of the outer walls,

> on a plot specially reserved for them, there were found two brick-faced altars dug into the earth. The smaller flat-bottomed one contained a half-metre layer of compressed ashes. The larger, deeply cut conic one had a shallow hearth in the centre of the bottom with remnants of coals. The smaller altar was dedicated to fire, while the larger one was used for ritual libations, as evidenced by a large stain on its wall... What the Togolok-21 complex was used for was established by finds in one of the premises, along the walls of which there was a row of vessels placed inside special brick platforms. The organic remains from them, as Prof. N. Meier-Melikyan from the Moscow State University established, contained microscopic twigs of ephedra... the temple served chiefly for ritual libations (as a temple of fire it was of secondary importance). The central, obviously sacred part (the citadel) of this multicomponent complex was used to brew haoma; both altars were outside it. The priests took the drink, poured it into the vessels

'seven'; and ***wesā*** 'metal, iron' cf. Toch. A **wäs**, B **yasa** 'gold'.

303 Cf. Janhunen 1983: 121-124: Proto-Samoyed ***wôrkô*** 'bear' cf. Avestan **vəhrka-** 'wolf'; ***pulô / *pjlô*** 'bridge' cf. Middle Persian **puhl** 'bridge'; ***jāô*** 'meal, flower' cf. Avestan **yava-** 'grain'; ***tājkā*** 'spear, sword' cf. Avestan **taēya**.

304 Cf. Janhunen 1983.

305 Especially the merger of IE **l** and **r** into **r** (rhotacism), which is attested in the Mitanni Aryan as well. Cf. e.g. Gonda 1971: 42f.; Burrow 1973a: 26.

306 Especially the double nominative plural of the IE masculine **o**-stems: Ṛgvedic **-āṣ-aṣ** and Avestan **-å̄ŋhō** besides the later attested but more original variant forms **-āṣ** and **-å̄** respectively < IE ***-ōs**. Cf. Emeneau 1966: 126f.

307 Cf. e.g. ṚS 6,16,46 **uttānáhasto námasā** with Yašt 28,1 **nəmaŋhā uztānazastō** (Schlerath 1968: II, xi, 148ff.).

308 Sarianidi 1987: 51.

309 Falk (1987) in press.

which were carried to the altar where the libations took place.[310]

This pre-Zarathushtran Haoma-temple was found in the Togolok oasis, which represents the last phase of the Bronze Age culture of Margiana. The ceramic assemblage is almost the same as that of the preceding Gonur phase (related to Namazga VI), but includes among other things also "handmade Andronovo-like wares".[311]

The Ṛgveda clearly shows that the cult of Soma/Haoma was introduced by the Aryan invaders, while the culture of the earlier settled Dāsas comprised, above all, forts with concentric walls. The 'temple' of Togolok-21 is a citadel fortified with three concentric walls, each provided with round corner towers and turrets. The walls of the innermost fortress, measuring 60 x 50 metres, are 4.5 metres thick. The central portal in the middle of the northern wall is flanked by two monumental pylons.[312] This fortress continues the traditions of the earliest cultural phase in Margiana, represented by the sites of the Kelleli oasis, dated to the late Namazga V period.[313]

The square fort of Kelleli corresponds to that of Sapalli Tepe, which represents the earliest level in northern Bactria, as well those of Dashly-1 and Dashly-3 in southern Bactria.[314] The Dashly-3 'temple', however, is closer to the Ṛgvedic description of Dāsa forts in having three concentric walls that are circular, even though the outermost wall is square. Also the slightly later[315] 'temple' discovered at Dzharkutan in northern Bactria is round. Moreover, these two circular temples "served as temples of fire. This is evidenced by the fire altars and the absence of cult vessels."[316] As Sarianidi has already observed, this clearly points to a difference of ritual practices within the framework of one religion, and that obviously "the narrowly specialised temples coexisted with more universal ones, such as the Togolok-21, where ritual libations and cults of fire were practised simultaneously."[317] It appears, then, that at Togolok-21 we witness a fusion of the *sauma* cult of the invading Aryans and of the earlier local cults and culture of the Dāsas, i.e. the carriers of the Namazga V related Bronze Age culture of Outer Iran.

Besides the earliest archaeological evidence on the cult of Soma/Haoma, the Togolok-21 temple sheds important light also on the religion of the earlier Namazga V culture. More than 30 miniature columns made of stone were discovered on its floors. So far such miniature columns have been found in greater numbers only at Godar-i-Shah in Afghan Seistan, where they had been brought to a Muslim sanctuary from some other place in the neighbourhood.[318] Also, at Tureng Tepe in Gurgan the miniature columns have been associated with monumental architecture, but otherwise there has been little evidence of the function of these distinctive objects that have been found all over the large area occupied by the Bronge Age culture of Outer Iran, including also Shahdad in the Lut

[310] Sarianidi 1987: 48-51.
[311] Cf. Sarianidi 1981: 180.
[312] Cf. Sarianidi 1987: 48f.
[313] Cf. Sarianidi 1981: 167-169; Amiet 1986: 190.
[314] Cf. Amiet 1986: 190ff.
[315] Cf. Amiet 1986: 192.
[316] Sarianidi 1987: 53.
[317] Sarianidi 1987: 53.
[318] Cf. Sarianidi 1987: 44, 49, and Dales 1972.

desert.[319] Pierre Amiet has recently compared them with the **djed** pillars of Egypt and suggested that they may have been betyls, aniconic idols.[320]

Amiet's most interesting suggestion seems to provide the missing link between the phallic cults of the ancient Near East and the **liṅga** cult of Hinduism, which has often been claimed to go back to the Indus civilization.[321] Although several recent reviews of these claims have been highly critical or even adopted a strictly negative stand,[322] there is sufficient evidence for phallic worship being practised by the Harappans.[323] Particularly significant is the connection that appears to exist between the Hindu legends that connect the Seven Sages with the origin of the liṅga cult, the seven fire altars of Kalibangan with liṅga-like stone stelae in their middle, the Vedic fireplaces of the "seven sacrificial priests", and the stars of the Seven Sages, Ursa Major, called in Avestan **haptō-iriṅga** (= Sanskrit ***sapta-liṅga**-), and the Seven Sages of the Sumerian tradition.[324]

The fire-altars of Kalibangan and Lothal are so far without parallels at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa.[325] Indeed, it has been asked: "Fire-worship being considered a distinctly Indo-Aryan trait, do these [ritual hearths of Kalibangan] carry with them an indication of an Indo-Aryan presence even from so early a date?"[326] This hypothesis now seems quite plausible to me, if "Indo-Aryan" here is understood to refer to carriers of the Bronze Age culture of Greater Iran, who had become quickly absorbed into the Indus Civilization, culturally and linguistically.[327] It is supported further by the cylinder shape of the famous Kalibangan seal showing a Durgā-like goddess of war, who is associated with the tiger.[328] **(Fig. 24a)** The goddess on the Kalibangan cylinder seal is said to be similar in style, especially the headdress,[329] to one depicted on a cylinder seal from Shahdad.[330] **(Fig. 24b)** Seated lions attend to a goddess of fertility on a metal flag found at Shahdad.[331]

Pirak I-II: Mounted nomads in Sind c. 1800-1100 B.C.

As far as the Vedic Aryans are concerned, Sind is definitely a peripheral area, though the Vedic texts do refer to Sindhu as producing excellent horses.[332] This fully agrees with the archaeological evidence, which is important in confirming the arrival of horsemen from

[319] Cf. Deshayes 1977.

[320] Cf. Amiet 1986: 195. For the oldest known cultic betyl, a conical stone worshipped at the temple of the goddess Ninni-Zaza, cf. Amiet 1980: 92.

[321] Cf. Marshall 1931: I, 59-61; and e.g. Allchin & Allchin 1982: 214.

[322] Cf. Gonda 1965: 31; Dales 1984; Srinivasan 1984.

[323] Cf. Parpola 1985: 102ff.

[324] Cf. Parpola 1985: 115ff.

[325] Cf. e.g. Agrawal 1982: 156.

[326] Allchin & Allchin 1982: 216.

[327] The cylinder seal from Kalibangan discussed below has a typically Harappan sequence of pictograms.

[328] Cf. Parpola 1984: 185f.

[329] For a goddess with as similar horned headdress on a cylinder seal from Tepe Yahya, cf. Amiet 1986: 299 fig. 132:8.

[330] Cf. Jarrige 1985: 109, referring to Hakemi 1972: X c (unaccessible to me).

[331] Cf. Matheson 1976: 304.

[332] Cf. RS 10,75,8; Zimmer 1879: 16f.; 26f.; Macdonell & Keith 1912: II, 43; 450.

the northern steppes c. 1800 B.C., i.e., at the beginning of the Namazga VI period.

The excavated site of Pirak in the Kachi plain of Sind comprises three occupation periods: I (c. 1800-1300), II (c. 1300-1100) and III (c. 1100-900 B.C.).[333] From periods I and II come distinctive terracotta figurines of two-humped camels and of horse-riders **(fig. 25a)**. The camel figurines are quite new in the Indus valley, but have very close parallels at Namazga VI sites in Margiana, where they go back to the Namazga V traditions. The horsemen of Pirak constitute the earliest evidence for the use of the horse in the Indian subcontinent. They have bowed legs to fit them on the back of the horse, armless torsos, and heads with faces ending in a bird-like beak.[334]

Mounted nomadic pastoralism is supposed to have developed in the formative stages (Alakul' phase) of the Andronovo culture.[335] The figurines of horses and their riders at Pirak indicate that "groups related to those from the Eurasian steppes and Central Asian highlands had begun to play an important role in the functioning of social and economic systems in the northwestern part of South Asia".[336]

The significance of the curious beaked heads of the Pirak horse-riders seems to have escaped previous notice. It calls for comparison with the numerous representations of an eagle-headed anthropomorphic deity (with or without wings) in the seals and other objects of the Bronze Age culture of Greater Iran. In many seals this deity fights against snakes, and is obviously identical to the winged man with a human head, which also fights with snakes.[337] **(Fig. 25b-m)** The bird's head appears to prove that on their arrival from the steppes the mounted nomads adopted from the earlier local Namazga V civilization some of their most central religious ideas. This god is obviously related to the eagle which occupies so prominent a position in the other related seals, and which also fights against serpents. The bird undoubtedly is the serpent-eagle feeding mainly on snakes. **(Cf. fig. 7)**.

Also, the violin-shaped female figurines of Pirak I-II continue the Namazga V related religious traditions of the nearby site of Sibri.[338] The simple terracotta seals of Pirak mostly continue earlier local traditions, but some have close parallels at Shahr-i Sokhta (18th century B.C.) in Seistan and at Namazga VI sites in Margiana and Bactria.[339] The pottery of Pirak is supposed to go back to the local third millennium traditions of Baluchistan and Afghanistan; close parallels are so far known only from Ispelanji and Dabar Kot in southern Baluchistan, but affinities are seen also in Mundigak IV-V in Afghanistan[340] and now in Sarazm in Sogdiana.[341]

[333] Cf. Jarriage & Santoni 1979: I, 352; Jarrige 1985c: 244 (with revised dates).

[334] Cf. Jarrige & Santoni 1979: I, 361, 365f.

[335] Cf. Diakonoff 1985b: 46; Jarrige 1985b: 60. Trippet (1974: 70, 74) dates the spread of mounted nomadism to c. 900 B.C. However, bits have been found already at the Srednij Stog site Dereivka (c. 4200-3500 B.C.).

[336] Jarrige 1985b: 60.

[337] In some seals this winged man with an ordinary human head is flanked by eagles; cf. fig. 24 c.

[338] Cf. Jarrige 1985b: 52.

[339] Cf. Jarrige & Santoni 1979: I, 361, 366, 396f.; Jarrige 1985b: 52.

[340] Cf.Jarrige & Santoni 1979: I, 389, 392f.

[341] Cf. Isakov 1985: 233.

Terracotta "fire-dogs" are a novelty of the Pirak culture.[342] They have been found forming a support for cooking vessels around an ash-filled cavity in the middle of a square fireplace. This type of fireplace and the habit of cooking in vessels placed directly over the fire seem to represent an innovation in the Kachi plain.[343] Very similar "fire-dogs" have been excavated around fireplaces at very early Iron Age sites in Fergana, such as Shurabashat.[344] Square and round fireplaces with a central cavity have been found also at Sarazm in ancient Sogdiana.[345] We have seen that the Pre-Zarathushtran temple at Togolok-21 also had a round fireplace with a central cavity.

In the Vedic ritual, there are three principal fireplaces: the square **āhavanīya**, into which the offerings to the gods are poured, the round **gārhapatya**, the inherited hearth of the family head, and the halfmoon-shaped **dakṣiṇāgni** 'southern fire', which is connected above all with the forefathers of the sacrificer. According to Hertha Krick, the first two form a pair and represent the Ṛgvedic tradition, while the "southern fire" seems to go back to a different and perhaps older tradition associated with the Asuras, the Avestan tradition, and the Yajurveda.[346]

We have already seen that the improved contacts with the Ganges valley had brought rice cultivation to the Indus valley around 1800 B.C. Traffic with Central Asia was also not in one direction only. Besides the "fire-dogs", convex copper buttons with a loop and sickle blades with deep serrations found on sites of the Yaz complex in Margiana, resemble similar objects from Pirak "in a way that could not be fortuitous...the examples from Pirak appear in earlier levels than those from the sites in the Murghab delta or in Fergana that are dated to the beginning of the Iron Age. Moreover this period coincides with the appearance on these Central Asian sites of a hand-made ware with painted geometric patterns whose style recalls that of some vessels at Pirak, at a time when this type of pottery at Pirak is gradually being replaced by wheel-made grey ware without decoration."[347]

The Ṛgvedic Aryans and the protohistoric cultures of Swat

The temple of Togolok-21 provides a most precious temporal and cultural indicator for the coming of the Sauma Aryans by testifying that their fusion with the Dāsas took place between the late Namazga V and the late Namazga VI periods. This means that their arrival more or less coincided with the beginning of the Namazga VI period around 1800 B.C. This agrees very well with the fact that the relations of Margiana and Bactria with Syria developed in the 18th century B.C., while the "Proto-Indo-Aryan" dynasty of Mitanni dates at least from the 16th century B.C. The Ṛgvedic hymns in their turn suggest that part of the Sauma Aryans did not stop in Margiana and Bactria, but continued immediately to northwest India. Such a short stay would well account for why the cultural

[342] Jarrige & Santoni 1979: I, 363.
[343] Cf. Jarrige 1985b: 48f.
[344] Jarrige & Santoni 1979: I, 391.
[345] Cf. Isakov 1985.
[346] Cf. Krick 1982: 232ff., 376f. and passim.
[347] Jarrige & Santoni 1979: I, 410.

assemblage of the Ghalegay IV period in Swat (c. 18th to 15th centuries B.C.)[348] resembles that of Dashly in Afghanistan, but is not identical with it.

The valley of Swat occupies a strategic position in the archaeological identification of the early Ṛgvedic Aryans, because they must have passed through this area. This is clearly implied by the occurrence of the name of the Kabul river and its tributaries in the Ṛgveda along with the evidence related to the Dāsas and Paṇis already discussed above. Therefore we must briefly review its archaeological history in order to check the match.

The earliest inhabitants of the Swat valley had a Neolithic culture with a pebble tool industry comparable to Neolithic sites of the Kangra valley in the Himachal Pradesh as well as north of the Hindukush and Pamir mountains in south Tadzhikistan and in China (Ghalegay I, c. 3000-2500 B.C.).[349]

The culture of the Ghalegay II period (c. 2500-2000 B.C.) is very different, being represented by a fine, painted wheel-made pottery related to that of Hathial I and Sarai Khola II, which reflect the Early Harappan Kot Diji style pottery and a later phase related to the Indus Civilization. The scarcity of structural remains and domestic articles contrasts with the abundance of the pottery, suggesting a periodic rather than continuous occupation. Stacul plausibly suggests that this reflects exploitation of the Swat's rich coniferous forests, evidenced by some Harappan houses built of deodar cedars. The wood has been transported until recently by floating it down the river.[350]

The next period, Ghalegay III (c. 2000-1800 B.C.), is characterized by the almost complete disappearance of the Harappan-related wheel-made pottery and the reappearance of the pebble industry, accompanied by a coarse pottery similar to that of Sarai Khola I near Taxila and Burzahom in Kashmir.[351] This culture seems to have persisted as a minor component during the following Ghalegay IV period (c. 1800-1400 B.C.), during which the sites of Loebanr and Bir-kot-ghwandai have produced objects related to the Neolithic culture of northern China, as has Burzahom in Kashmir.[352] The potter's wheel and the traditions of Period II did not entirely disappear during Period III, however, for the later Period IV "saw a progressive increase in the red, wheel-turned ware together with the reappearance of some forms and decorations recorded in Period II".[353]

If the main part of the Ṛgvedic hymns reflect the culture of Swat and the neighbouring areas during the Ghalegay IV period, this cultural background would account for the scarcity of Dravidian substratum influence upon the Ṛgvedic language. This has sometimes been mentioned as an objection against the hypothesis of a Dravidian identification with the Harappan language. Still, few though they are, some clearly Dravidian loanwords can be recognized in the Ṛgveda, some like **múkham** 'mouth'[354] and

[348] Cf. Stacul 1987: 120.

[349] Cf. Stacul 1987: 115-116.

[350] Cf. Stacul 1987: 117-118.

[351] Cf. Stacul 1987: 118-120.

[352] Cf. Stacul 1987: 124.

[353] Stacul 1987: 120.

[354] ṚS 1,97,6; 4,39,6; 6,75,15; 8,43,10; 10,81,3; 10,90,11-13. Cf. Tamil **mukam** 'face, mouth', etc., Burrow & Emeneau 1982: 437 no. 4889. For uncertain Iranian (Parachi, Pashto, Ossetic) parallels, cf. Mayrhofer 1963: II, 648f.

phálam '(ripe) fruit'[355] even in the oldest parts, matching the limited survival of Ghalegay II traditions in Swat.

The black-grey, burnished pottery characteristic of the intrusive main culture of the Ghalegay IV period in Swat is "widespread throughout all the occupation phases of all the valley's settlements excavated so far... Bowls-on-stands, carinated bowls and other forms from the Swāt valley, may be compared with shapes from the Dashly assemblage in northern Afghanistan, which also includes grey-burnished ware."[356] The languages of the Dardic group are most widely spread in the valleys of the Hindukush mountains and Kashmir, comprising Pašaī, Šumaṣṭī, Tirāhī, Gawar-bati, Phalūṛa, Kalaṣa, Khowar, Baškarīk, Tōrwālī, Kohistānī, Woṭapūrī, Ṣiṇā and Kašmīrī. They clearly belong to the Indo-Aryan languages, and have preserved some archaic features, such as the augment, which have been lost elsewhere.[357] Particularly interesting is the fact that the Dardic (and the neighbouring Nuristani) languages are the only modern languages to have preserved some specifically Ṛgvedic forms like the gerund **-tvī**[358].

The later phase of the Ghalegay IV period (c. 1600-1400 B.C.) is characterized by the appearance of a painted-red pottery alongside the grey-burnished ware. "This context links the valley with the plains area, as is shown by the emergence of objects and iconographic motifs which, in some cases derived from the tradition of the Indus urban civilization, and in others more specifically recall the culture of Cemetery H of Harappa. It is well known that the Cemetery H culture is generally interpreted as a fusion of Indian traditions and new elements, probably derived from the west."[359] At Bīr-kōṭ-ghwaṇḍai, the painted motifs of this intrusive red ware comprise the three-branched fig, known already from Mundigak IV.1 (c. 2600 B.C.), and the horse.[360] **(Fig. 26)**

This evidence may be equated with the textual tradition, such as the hymns celebrating king Sudās' victory over the confederation of ten kings[361] on the river Paruṣṇī (later Ravi),[362] which show that the Ṛgvedic Aryans came into contact with the Late Harappan cultures of the plains. The latter represent a fusion of the Indus people and the Namazga V related Dāsas and other Aryan tribes, who had come to the Indus valley from the west through the more southern passes. They probably spoke the early Old Indo-Aryan dialect from which the classical Sanskrit is descended and which is more archaic than the Ṛgvedic-Avestan dialect in some respects, for instance in having pre-

[355] ṚS 3,45,4; 4,57,6; 10,71,5; 10,97,15; 10,146,5. Cf. Tamil **paḻam** '(ripe) fruit', etc.< **paḻu** / **paṇṭu** 'to ripen, become yellow' (cf. Burrow & Emeneau 1982: 356 no. 4004). Cf. Mayrhofer 1963: II, 394f.

[356] Stacul 1987: 122.

[357] Cf. Morgenstierne 1926: 51ff., 71 (augment); 77 (Veda and Khowar); Emeneau 1966: 136f.; Turner 1975: 301ff.

[358] Cf. Tikkanen 1987: 256 with further references.

[359] Stacul 1987: 123.

[360] Cf. Stacul 1987: 106, 108f., 123.

[361] The enemies included the tribe of the Bhalānásah (ṚS 7,18,7), whose name has been connected with the name of the Bolan pass (cf. Hillebrandt and Wüst quoted in Mayrhofer 1963: II, 483; Witzel 1987a: 176). The Namazga V related finds of Mehrgarh VIII, Sibri and Quetta were made in the immediate neighbourhood of this pass, which links Baluchistan with Sind.

[362] Cf. ṚS 7,18; 7,33; 7,83.

served the Indo-European lateral (**l**, which in Ṛgvedic and Avestan merged with **r**) and the suffix **-ās** (instead of the Ṛgvedic-Avestan innovatory double suffix **-ās-as**) in the m. nom. pl. of the Indo-European **o**-stems. This more conservative dialect now became mixed with the genuine Ṛgvedic-Avestan dialect in the late portions of the Ṛgveda.[363] At the same time, this parent of the classical Sanskrit had in the plains been much more subject to the influence of Dravidian, with the result that the number of Dravidian loanwords and structural changes towards Dravidian increase considerably in the later Vedic language.[364]

Of particular interest in this connection is the word **kuzᵊra** 'horse' in Tirahi, a southwestern Dardic language (spoken between Peshawar and Kabul), whose resemblance with Tamil **kutirai** 'horse' and its cognates in other Dravidian languages[365] "is too striking to be accidental".[366] This Dravidian loan cannot be from Brahui, which has a different word[367] for 'horse'.[368] Tamil **kutirai** etc. is clearly related to a Dravidian verbal root meaning 'to jump, leap, jolt, trot, gallop' (Tamil **kuti**, Kurukh **kuḍuṛ-kuḍuṛ** 'at a trot')[369]. However, an interesting comparison has been made also with the Elamite word **kutira** 'bearer', derived from the Elamite root **kuti** 'to carry (away), bear, uphold'.[370] Both pictorial representations and osteological evidence now suggest that the domestic horse may have been present in Elam and in Seistan by c. 3000 B.C.[371], and that the Namazga V related seminomadic Bronze Age culture of Greater Iran developed under an essentially Elamite influence.[372]

Proto-West-Iranians and the "Kafirs" of Nuristan

In the Swat valley, the transition from the Ghalegay IV to Ghalegay V period appears to have been violent, though definite evidence is still lacking.[373] While the earlier ceramics disappear, "during the 14th century or later, a new culture spread over the northern, hilly regions.The new course of events brought stability and uniformity to a wide area (in the Swat valley, local differences tend to diminish or disappear), and led to a further increase in settlements and a growth in farming activities. Yet, at the same time, 'one has the impression of observing a gradual process of isolation'[374]... progressively sealing off this area from its surrounding regions, particularly the western plains of the subcontinent."[375]

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[363] Cf. Emeneau 1966: 126f.
[364] Cf. Tikkanen 1987: 281ff.
[365] Cf. Burrow and Emeneau 1982: 156 no. 1711.
[366] Cf. Morgenstierne 1932: 21.
[367] Brahui **(h)ulli** 'horse', related to Tamil **ivuḷi** 'horse' (Burrow & Emeneau 1982: 48 no. 500).
[368] Cf. Burrow 1972.
[369] Cf. Burrow and Emeneau 1982: 156 no. 1705.
[370] McAlpin 1981: 147f.
[371] Cf. Bökönyi (1987) in press.
[372] Cf. Amiet 1986: 211ff.
[373] Stacul 1987: 126.
[374] Tusa 1979: 693.
[375] Stacul 1987: 126.

The Ghalegay V period of Swat valley is characterized by cemeteries "in which post-cremation, complete flexed inhumation and fractional burials were in use at the same time (ca. 1400-800 B.C.)."[376] Cremation was the usual method of disposal.[377] "In the cremation graves..., the most common type of cinerary urn is a large vase with a globular-oval body, wide mouth, flaring rim and disc-base. Antecedents for this type of urn can be found... in various cemeteries of the Middle Danube... datable to about the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C."[378] "The appearance of gray vases with disk- or button-bases, in a period that definitely includes the last quarter of the 2nd millennium B.C., is evident not only in Swāt and in the nearby region of Dīr, but also in northwestern Iran, as seen from the characteristic production of the 5th phase of Hasanlu or Iron-Age Period I, also called the Button-Base Ware phase (ca. 1300/1250—1000 B.C.)."[379] Archaeologists of the Swat region agree on "strong stylistic and typological analogies with northwest Iran during the period of Hasanlu V".[380]

Recently two petroglyphs with close west Iranian parallels were discovered on the "Altar rock" near the Thalpan bridge over the upper course of the Indus at Chilas. One of them (**fig. 27a**) represents a "West Iranian warrior with broad belt, fringed skirt and leggings about to slaughter a goat."[381] The figure has been compared to that of a warrior embossed on the golden bowl from Hasanlu V in western Iran (**fig. 27b**).[382] Even the headdress with its snake-like forward projection is very similar. Another detail that may be added to this comparison is the virtually identical way in which the sacrificial animal is held by its hind leg in the Chilas petroglyph and in the golden cup now in the Louvre, with a lion-eagle demon holding a gazelle; it comes from northwest Iran and is dated to c. 1200-900 B.C.[383] The horse with tasselled mane and wings on the "Altar rock" petroglyph kneels on one leg like the bull on the c. 8th century west Iranian vase (allegedly coming from Ziwiye) with which it has been compared.[384]

The contemporary and related necropoles of Hasanlu V and Sialk A represent the first phase of the Iron Age in Iran (c. 1250-1000 B.C.), when this metal was still scarce. There has been unanimity about the intrusive nature of this culture, but its origin has been debated. On the basis of specific pottery types with non-Iranian technique (vessels with two tab-handles and black vases decorated with incisions filled with white material[385]), Roman Ghirshman has convincingly argued for its derivation over the Caucasus from the Pre-Scythian graves along the Dniepr and tributaries of the Don. He sees the Hasanlu V &

[376] Stacul 1979: 89.

[377] Cf. Agrawal 1982: 251.

[378] Stacul 1971:11.

[379] Stacul 1970: 97.

[380] Tusa 1979: 691.

[381] Jettmar & Thewalt 1987: pl. 5.

[382] Cf. Jettmar & Thewalt 1987: 13; cf. also Jettmar 1985: 757f.

[383] Cf. Porada 1965: 93f.

[384] Cf. Jettmar & Thewalt 1987: 13 & pl. 4. Winged horse is found e.g. among the motifs of the painted pottery at Sialk B in western Iran (c. 1000-800 B.C.); cf. Ghirshman 1964: 14 fig. 9.

[385] Vases with white-filled incised decorations occur in the Swat valley during the Ghalegay VI and VII periods, see Stacul 1970: 100 n. 29, with further references for other sites, including southern Russia.

Sialk A complex as indicating the arrival of the Median tribes, because similar pottery has been found at distictly Median sites such as Tepe Nush-i Jan.[386]

Iron became more plentiful only in the next phase of Iron II (c. 1000-800 B.C.) represented in western Iran by Hasanlu IV and Sialk B (Sialk VI), which are compared with the Ghalegay VI period in Swat (where inhumation dominates over cremation).[387] At Sialk B, there are both collective and individual tombs, the latter being occupied by noblemen furnished in life and in death with iron weapons and armour. While the black pottery of the preceding phase (Sialk A) constitutes about 24% of the Sialk B ceramics, the percentage of a new type of painted pottery is 34%. Most distinctive among the latter are vases with long libation spouts resembling a bird's beak.[388] A significant detail must be noted here: some of these Sialk B vessels have a human face, modelled out of clay, beneath the spouts.[389]

"A distinctive trait common to a large part of [the Ghalegay V Period cremation-] urns is the presence of plastic decoration, of clearly anthropomorphic inspiration, found on the body and near the neck of these containers. These are the so-called 'face-urns', known in various types, where the essential features of the human face are shown with holes (eye and mouth indications) and sometimes with relief modelling too (bridge of nose, eye-sockets)... It is significant that anthropomorphically inspired 'face-urns' containing cremation remains have been found in the Middle Danubian Basin, even dating back to the end of the chalcolithic period."[390] Such "face-urns" have been discovered not only in Swat but also in the more northern valley of Dir (Timargarha) as well as in the the Proto-historical cemetery of Zarif Karuna near Peshawar.[391]

The tribes of Nuristan in northeastern Afghanistan have, in their isolation, kept their archaic Aryan religion and culture until the present century and have therefore been spoken of as Kafirs or 'infidels' by the neighbouring Muslims. The ceremonial axes (called in Kati **waṣ'līk**[392]) used as symbols of rank by the Nuristanis at the time of the earliest European visits in 1885[393] have close parallels to the axes in ancient petroglyphs at Chilas on the upper Indus (some of these axes are carried by riders on horseback)[394] and can be further compared to 9th century B.C. West Iranian axes.[395] So perhaps it is not altogether farfetched to note that the wooden vessels used by the Nuristanis as measures and pitchers for clarified butter have a long spout resembling the Sialk B spouted vessels.[396]

386 Cf. Ghirshman 1977: 46-51.

387 Cf. Stacul 1970: 99; Agrawal 1982: 251.

388 Cf. Ghirshman 1977: 52-59; 1964: 9ff.

389 Cf. Ghirshman 1964: 11 fig. 6; 15 fig. 11.

390 Stacul 1971:11.

391 Stacul 1979: 90.

392 Cf. ibid. & p. 185b. This word is to be added to Turner 1966: 675b no. 11588 (RV **vāsī**-).

393 Cf. Edelberg & Jones 1979: 107 fig. 48 & pl. 101.

394 Cf. Jettmar and Thewalt 1979: 26.

395 Cf. Porada 1965: 81; Ghirshman 1964: 376f. nos. 503-505.

396 Cf. Edelberg & Jones 1979: 79 fig. 35. For a bronze vessel with a long spout from the Mollali culture of northern Bactria (Tadjikistan), cf. Brentjes 1987: pl. Va.

The Nuristani languages, too, have preserved some extremely archaic features. Best known among these is the sporadic preservation of the dental affricate **ć** in such words as Kati **duć** corresponding to Sanskrit **daśa** and Proto-Indo-European ***déḱm̥** 'ten'. The exact classification of the Nuristani languages among the Aryan branch is a controversial and still undecided issue: according to some scholars (e.g.Thomas Burrow) they form an offshoot of the Proto-Indo-Aryan group, according to others (e.g. Manfred Mayrhofer), of the Proto-Iranian; still others (e.g. Georg Morgenstierne) have considered them a distinct third branch, which may represent the very earliest Aryans to have arrived in the Hindukush.[397]

So much is clear that "the Nuristani data clearly show that at the Proto-Indo-Iranian stage and at the Proto-Satem stage affricates must be reconstructed for the Proto-Indo-European palato-velars rather than sibilants as commonly held."[398] It is also most likely that the first palatalization of the PIE palatal velar series **ḱ ǵ ǵh** resulted in **č j jh** in Proto-Aryan (and Proto-Satəm).[399] Further "one thing is very clear and that is that the Nuristani languages should not be considered a special form of Dardic, although through lengthy contact there exist many similarities. Dardic can clearly be derived from Old Indo-Aryan in a way that is simply not so for Nuristani."[400] Moreover, there are no early common innovations to support a derivation of Nuristani and Old-Indo-Aryan from a common source opposed to Proto-Iranian.[401]

On the basis of the archaeological evidence, I would like to suggest the possibility that the Nuristani languages might have branched off from Proto-West-Iranian (probably the language of the Late Timber Grave culture in the south Russian steppes), which in Western Iran developed into Median and Old Persian.[402] A most important isogloss uniting the Nuristani languages with the Iranian branch[403] is complete deaspiration, which, however, has resulted in divergent developments. Yet it is possible to posit a common descent by assuming that when Nuristani branched off from Proto-West Iranian, this change had already affected the voiced aspirates, but not yet the voiceless aspirates, whose subsequent deaspiration followed different paths. Ṛgvedic **dvâr-/dur-** 'door' for ***dhvâr-/*dhur-** implied by Greek **thúra** and other cognates has been quoted as a

397 For an able recent assessment of the problem, see Nelson 1986; cf. also Tikkanen 1988.

398 Nelson 1986: 104.

399 Cf. Nelson 1986: 104-107.

400 Nelson 1986: 114.

401 Cf. Nelson 1986: 114f.

402 This agrees with the first impression of Morgenstierne (1926: 68f.), which differed from the stand he adopted later: "Perhaps the Kafirs have crossed the Hindu Kush later than the other Indian tribes."

403 Morgenstierne (1926: 66; 1973: 333) notices some cases of closer lexical agreement with Iranian than Indo-Aryan. E.g. Nuristani ***kać-** 'to see, to regard' has a closer parallel in Iranian **kas-** 'to look' (younger Avestan **ākasaṯ** 'looked at', Saka **kas-** 'to look at, be seen, appear', Ossetic D. **kǽsun** 'to look at' etc.) than in Epic Sanskrit **kāś-** 'to shine, be visible'. Cf. further Old Slavonic **kazati** 'to show'. The IE root is ***kʷeḱ-/kʷeǵ-**. Cf. also Turner 1966: no. 3113-5; Bailey 1979: 57a; Bartholomae 1904: 459f.; Buck 1949: 1046; Mayrhofer 1956: I, 204; Pokorny 1959: 638. Ziryene **kažalni** 'to notice, see' may well be an Iranian loanword in Permian, as suggested in 1927 by Ersnt Lewy, in spite of the criticism of Joki (1973: 132). Finnish **katsoa** 'to look at' with cognates (cf. Toivonen 1955: 171b) goes back to Baltic Finnish ***kačči-** (Juha Janhunen, orally), for which Jorma Koivulehto has proposed a convincing Germanic etymology: the gemination of the affricate is inexplicable on the basis of the Aryan etymon.

possible example of a very early influence of a deaspirating dialect.[404]

An early West Iranian adstratum could explain some curious dialectal features of the Ṛgvedic language, like the analogical instrumental plural of the Indo-European o-stems, **-ebhis**, which alternates with **-ais**. The latter variant, a retention from Proto-Indo-European which has congeners in Italic, Greek and Lithuanian, appears to be the original Ṛgvedic form, for Avestan has only **-āiš**. It cannot have come from the protoform of classical Sanskrit either, for it too has only **-ais**. The only parallel for the innovatory **-ebhis** among the Indo-European languages is Old Persian **-aibiš**.[405] The 2nd pers. pl. verbal suffix in Nuristani (e.g. Kati **-ɔ́f**) is derived from **-thana** and **-tana**[406], which occur as less frequent variants besides **-tha** (Avestan **-θā**) and **-ta** in the Ṛgveda and become rare afterwards[407]; the Hittite parallel **-ten**[408] speaks for a western origin.

In Mitanni Aryan, the characteristically Iranian change **s** > **h** has not taken place, as it has in Avestan and in Old Persian: cf. Mitanni **Ar-ta-aš-šu-ma-ra** < ***Ṛta-smara**, but Iranian ***Hu-(h)mara** in Greek **Omárēs**.[409] The hypothesis that the Nuristani languages are descended from Proto-West-Iranian presupposes that the change **s** > **h** did not originate in Proto-West-Iranian. The wide diffusion of this change in the northern steppes must have involved the Andronovo culture, which c. 1300-1100 B.C. even spread westwards to the Volga region. It seems most likely that the change **s** > **h** originated in Proto-East-Iranian and spread to West Iranian in Iran, where the East and West Iranian dialects came into close contact with each other at an early stage.[410]

There is in fact evidence for the preservation of the ancient **s** in Baluchi, which is a West Iranian language that arrived from northwest Iran only in the 14th century A.D. The branching of Baluchi into a northern group that came to Merv (ancient Margiana) and a southern group which went to Afghanistan constitutes a parallel to the here suggested West Iranian origin of Proto-Nuristani.[411] Interestingly, Baluchi (with its **gvabz** 'wasp') is the only other Indo-Iranian language that has preserved Proto-Indo-European ***vespi-** besides Nuristani (***vaspi-** 'wasp' in Ashkun **šipīk**, Waigali **wašpík**, Kati **wušpī**) and Khowar (Dardic) (**bispí**, **bispiki**).[412]

The change **l** > **r**, which characterizes the common protolanguage of the Ṛgvedic and Avestan, seems to have taken place relatively late in Proto-North-Aryan, since it has not reached peripheral dialects, including Ossetic and a number of Pamir dialects within East Iranian. Several etyma suggest that Proto-Nuristani retained the original PIE **l**; others attesting to the change **l** > **r** are probably early loanwords from Proto-Dardic (i.e. Proto-Ṛgvedic).[413] The nearly 1,900 Iranian proper names in the Persepolis tablets contain pos-

[404] Other explanations are also possible, however: the influence of **dvā** 'two', or dissimilation in cases with suffixes beginning with **-bh-**. Cf. Mayrhofer 1963: II, 83; Gonda 1971: 19.

[405] Cf. Emeneau 1966: 127.

[406] Cf. Morgenstierne 1926: 67; 1973: 332f.

[407] Cf. Renou 1952: 253.

[408] Cf. Burrow 1973a: 309.

[409] Cf. Mayrhofer 1974: 20.

[410] Cf. Diakonoff 1985b: 47f., 131f.

[411] Cf. Frye 1961; Morgenstierne 1958: 169f.

[412] Cf. Morgenstierne 1957: 88; Emeneau 1966: 138; Turner 1966: 668 no. 11451.

sible traces of an l-retaining dialect in western Iran in the early fifth century B.C.[414]

On the other hand, Nuristani and Old Persian share with Proto-Ṛgvedic-Avestan an innovation in the verbal suffix of the first person plural, which must have developed rather early: Old Persian **-mahi**, Nuristani **-miš**, Vedic **-masi** (disused in classical Sanskrit), Avestan **-mahi** (the only suffix). The more original (Proto-Aryan) suffix **-mas** is preserved in classical Sanskrit (descended from the "Proto-South-Aryan" of the Namazga V related Dāsas, etc.), appearing also in Vedic as an alternative suffix.[415]

The Ghalegay IV-V periods in Swat are chalcolithic, except for a little iron towards the end. This tallies with the textual evidence, for references to iron are hard to find in the Ṛgveda, while the black metal was known to the Atharvaveda (11,3,7).[416] Inhumation and cremation occur side by side, as in the Ṛgveda. The Vedic texts of the later period speak of an earthen vessel, into which the bones of the dead were collected after the cremation.[417] A link from the Ghalegay V culture to the Painted Grey Ware (PGW) is supplied by the urns with perforations near the neck (resembling the eyes and the mouth of the Ghalegay V 'face-urns') in the PGW layers of Ahicchatra and of Ghalegay V type terracotta human figurines in the PGW layer of Jakheran, U.P.[418]

Thus the archaeological evidence allows the hypothesis that Ṛgvedic Aryans started moving from Swat to the plains of Punjab during the latter half of the Ghalegay IV period, c. 1600-1400 B.C., and continued during the following Ghalegay V period. After this, the northwest developed in relative isolation, losing its contacts with the Late Vedic culture of the plains, associated with the early PGW.

The Black-and-Red Ware and the second Vedic acculturation

After 2000 B.C., different varieties of a Black-and-Red Ware (BRW) gradually spread over most of north India reaching the eastern Ganges valley in the beginning of the first millennium, when the BRW also started spreading throughout south India with the megalithic culture. After the appearance of the PGW in the northern plains around 1000 B.C., the BRW continued its existence along with the PGW in this middle region, and in the areas all around the PGW culture.[419] The PGW pottery "is often decorated with short lines, concentric semicircles or obliques painted white, which are reminiscent of the motifs on BRW".[420]

Some scholars have linked the carriers of the heterogenous BRW cultures with the speakers of Dravidian languages, because both "once inhabited the *whole* of India"[421],

[413] Cf. Nelson 1986: 92f.

[414] Cf. Mayrhofer 1973: 301.

[415] Cf. Morgenstierne 1973: 332f.; Burrow 1973a: 308. The suffix ***-mas-i** is either an innovation or a dialectal variant within Proto-Indo-European shared by Old Irish (cf. Szemerényi 1980: 217).

[416] Cf. Rau 1974: 21.

[417] Cf. Rau 1983: 38 with references.

[418] Cf. Agrawal 1982: 250.

[419] On the very heterogenous BRW, cf. Singh 1982; Agrawal 1982: 210f.

[420] Jarrige 1985c: 246.

[421] Zvelebil 1965: 65.

and because the interaction between the PGW and BRW cultures around 500 B.C. coincides with the period of a massive influx of Dravidian words into Sanskrit.[422] However, the said Dravidian loanwords in Sanskrit are more likely to have been adopted from the eastern Prakrits representing an earlier wave of Aryan invaders, whose languages have been subject to a Dravidian substratum influence until historical times. A Dravidian identification of the BRW cultures would leave no room for such non-Vedic Indo-Aryan languages, which are known to have been spoken to the east of the Vedic area in the Brāhmaṇa period.[423] Since the BRW is ultimately of Harappan origin and makes an early appearance in Late Harappan cultures with intrusive elements, a more balanced view is to see it as a ceramic style which became fashionable among both native Dravidians and the earliest wave(s) of Indo-Aryans who interacted with them.

Twenty years ago, Bridget and Raymond Allchin adduced some linguistic evidence in support of a hypothesis which they then held, identifying the BRW and the PGW respectively with a first and a second wave of Indo-Aryan speaking immigrants in India.[424] They referred to the distinction made by Rudolf Hoernle and George A. Grierson between an inner and an outer band of Neo-Indo-Aryan languages. Hoernle, moreover, suggested that the inner languages, Hindi and its dialects, descend from a second wave of Aryan immigrants, who came like a wedge into the midst of earlier and more widely spread Aryan speakers.[425]

Hoernle's model seems to be correct. In the late books of the Ṛgveda, the original Ṛgvedic dialect becomes mixed with dialects ancestral to the epic and classical Sanskrit, which had preserved the original Indo-European *l* and the original simple suffix of the nominative plural of the Indo-European **-o**-stems, **-ās**.[426] This mingling of dialects coincides with the intrusion of many new subjects in the Ṛgveda, including cosmogonic speculation and riddles, the ideology of the cosmic man and his sacrifice, dialogues, legends, ecstatic practices, white and black magic, and domestic rituals.

The adoption of Varuṇa in the Vedic pantheon took place very early in the history of Vedic religion, during the short stay of the invading Aryans in Bactria around 1800 B.C. Since they did not adopt the Namazga V culture in its entirety, the Ṛgvedic Aryans must very soon have continued their journey from Bactria eastwards over the Hindukush, arriving in the valley of Swat, where the Bronze Age culture of Greater Iran had not penetrated. Away from the Dāsa area, the acculturation of the Ṛgvedic Aryans did not proceed much further, and their religion remained, on the whole, faithful to their native Soma cult. To judge from the remains of the Ghalegay IV culture, this relative isolation in the northwest continued for about two centuries.

A second much more fundamental acculturation, which starts being attested in the late books of the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda, began c. 1400 B.C., when the Ghalegay IV culture mingled with the Cemetery-H culture. The oldest Yajurvedic Samhitās, including

[422] Cf. Converse 1974: 82.

[423] Cf. ŚB 3,2,1,18f. and Thieme 1938: 3f.

[424] Cf. Allchin & Allchin 1968: 324.

[425] Cf. Hoernle 1880: xxxif.

[426] Cf. Emeneau 1966.

those of the **Kaṭhas** and **Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭhas**, came into being during the following centuries in the Punjab, where the Greek sources place peoples called **Kathaîoi** and **Kambisthóloi**.[427] These texts combine two different and originally separate religious traditions: the Soma cult of the Ṛgveda on the one hand and a fire ritual normally involving offerings of ghee and cakes made of grain.

Of special importance is the very complex ritual of the brick-built fire altar, which implies a long period of development, and yet is never mentioned in the Ṛgveda. The elaboration of the fire altar ritual seems to constitute the second stage in the formation of the Yajurveda Saṃhitās.[428] A ritualistic star calendar also appears fully developed at this stage, being foreshadowed only in a few late hymns of the Ṛgveda. Both of these new elements in the Veda can be traced back to to the Indus civilization.[429] The ukhā vessel, one of the central implements of the fire altar ritual, was baked with the inverted firing technique characteristic of the BRW.[430]

A third component of the early Yajurveda Saṃhitās consists of the great royal rituals, especially that of the horse sacrifice.[431] The horse sacrifice makes its first appearance in the Ṛgveda already, especially in two hymns of the later first book (1,162-163). The few isolated references to horse sacrifice in the earlier books[432] all appear to belong to the time of the first acculturation, immediately after the Dāsas were subdued and their chief deity Varuṇa[433] was adopted into the Vedic pantheon. The absence of more references to the horse sacrifice suggests that it was discontinued until it was revived in the second acculturation.

The cemetery of Kātelai in Swat, which represents the Ghalegay V period (c. 1300-800 B.C.), supplies archaeological evidence possibly related to the horse sacrifice (and human sacrifice): the skeletons of some horses and men show that the head had been severed from the trunk.[434] Although the animal victims in the "classical" śrauta ritual were suffocated, the Ṛgveda testifies to an older method of killing by chopping the head off; this corresponds to the decapitation of human and animal victims in the (sinister) left hand worship of the Goddess.[435] The Vedic texts also describe a human sacrifice, which was almost identical with the horse sacrifice; it appears to have once included a ritual exchange of the severed heads of the victims.[436]

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427 Cf. Renou 1947: 200; Witzel (1984) in press.

428 Cf. Renou 1947: 139.

429 Cf. Parpola 1985: 100ff. It was pointed out above (in connection with the miniature columns discovered at Togolok-21) that the fire altar may have been introduced in the Indus religion by early immigrants of the Bronze Age culture of Greater Iran.

430 Cf. Converse 1974.

431 Cf. Renou 1947: 140. For the horse sacrifice, see especially Dumont 1927; Bhave 1939; Hillebrandt 1897: 149-153; Gonda 1960: I, 168-172.

432 Cf. ṚS 8,27,6 (addresses Indra and Varuṇa together); 8,103,5 (cf. king Divodāsa in verse 2); 3,53,11 (king Sudās); 4,37,5-8 (probably king Trasadasyu, whose horse Dadhikrā is praised in the hymns 4,38-40); 4,42,8-9 (Trasadasyu: the hymn is addressed to Indra and Varuṇa).

433 Significantly, the sacrificial horse is sacred to Varuṇa (and to the creator god Prajāpati, a later duplicate of Varuṇa).

434 Cf. Silvi Antonini & Stacul 1972: 194, 288, 291; Parpola 1983: 65.

435 Cf. Parpola 1983: 54.

436 Cf. Parpola 1983: 64f.

The vrātya rites and the third Vedic acculturation

It is now widely agreed that the ritual described in the Vedic texts of the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra period has developed from an earlier form, which has been preserved fossilized in some highly anomalous rites.[437] This earlier ritual resembles the antinomian Śākta rituals of the later Purāṇic texts in containing violent and orgiastic elements.[438] These fossil rituals surface only in relatively late Vedic texts,[439] which seems to indicate that they originate from yet another pre-Vedic culture, which was encountered by the Vedic Aryans when they started moving eastwards from the Punjab. This new substratum culture was, I think, that of the Ochre Coloured Pottery and the Copper Hoards in the upper and mid-Ganges valley. Wilhelm Rau considers the Ochre Coloured Pottery as technically closest to the descriptions of ceramic objects and their production in the Vedic ritual texts.[440]

Primary deviant fossils among the Vedic rites are the vrātya-stomas.[441] The performers of these rites are called **vrātya**, because they formed a 'band' or 'troop' (**vrāta**), whose members were united by a common 'vow' (**vrata**). The vows, especially chastity, were observed on behalf of the whole group by their leader, who was armed with an unstrung bow and a leather quiver with three arrows. He drove a **vipatha** chariot in the company of a charioteer, two bodyguards and two "fore-runners", a wandering bard hailing from Magadha (**māgadha**), and a harlot (**puṁścalī**). The vrātyas wore peculiar dresses, including skin jackets, whose descriptions required explanation already in Vedic times; the leader's black turban, ornaments, and other equipment were similar to those characterising the dreaded god Rudra, his divine prototype.[442]

The **vipatha** chariot "should be yoked with (two animals:) a horse and a mule."[443] This curious detail has an exact but so far overlooked parallel in "the Hittite ritual wherein a vehicle was drawn by paired animals with a mule yoked on the left and a horse on the right side."[444] The agreement with the Hittite tradition poses an intriguing side issue to the hypothesis that the Dāsas originally came to Greater Iran over the Caucasus.

The vrātyas are called "princes" (**rājaputra**), i.e. militant nobles. They roamed around performing "cruel deeds", robbing ignorant Brahmins, who could not answer their questions and riddles.[445] The vrātyastomas were rites of covenant and lustration

[437] The hypothesis of an earlier "pre-classical" ritual has been developed especially by J.C. Heesterman (1962; 1964; 1967); cf. further e.g. Krick 1982: 2; Falck 1986: 11.

[438] Cf. Parpola 1983: 54f.

[439] Cf. Falck 1986: 50.

[440] Cf. Rau 1983: 42-44, 48-49.

[441] Cf. Weber l.c.; Hauer 1927; Heesterman 1962; Horsch 1966: 401 ff.; Parpola 1983; Falk 1986: 17ff.

[442] Cf. Parpola 1973: 36, 38ff.; Falck 1986: 17ff. The leader of the vrātya troop is also equated with the Aryan war god Indra (or his helper Viṣṇu) and the troop with that of the Maruts, the deities of the thunderstorm assisting Indra in his fight against Vṛtra (cf. Falck 1986: 18). This, however, is clearly a secondary identification made by the Vedic Aryans; in the Ṛgveda the Maruts are never destructive raiders like Rudra and his troops (cf. Falck 1986: 63ff.).

[443] Śāṇḍilya quoted in LŚS 8,6,10 (**aśvāśvatarābhyām yuktaḥ syāt**); ĀpŚS 22,5,5 = HŚS 17,2,33 (**aśvo 'śvataraś ca yugyau**). For the **vipatha**, cf. Rau 1983: 29 n. 91 and especially Sparreboom 1983: 151f.

[444] Mallory 1981: 216 quoting Otten 1958: 138-139.

[445] Cf. Falck 1986: 29f., 44ff.

celebrated before and after such yearly raids. The Kurus and the Pañcālas, the foremost Vedic tribes inhabiting the upper Ganges valley (**cf. fig. 2**), are said to have started their easterly or southerly directed looting expeditions in the cool season, before the summer, and to have returned only immediately before the rainy season when they ploughed their fields.[446] By the time of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, however, such vrātya expeditions had been discontinued.[447]

Immediately after the vrātyastomas, Lāṭyāyana (8,5) describes a rite called the "hawk" (**śyena**), by the performance of which one catches the enemy like that swiftest of birds. Its performers, called **vrātīna** (a synonym of **vrātya**), were elected from the learned sons of warriors (**yaudha**) or of "worthy men" (**arhat**). They wore red turbans and red cloths,[448] were girded with swords and carried bows and arrows. The "hawk" is exceptional, for very few rites of black magic are to be found in the Vedic ritual outside the Atharvaveda, while the Ṛgveda charges the Asuras and Dāsas with having recourse to magic. The same word, "hawk", is used of the most common form of fire altar, the building of which was the central rite of the oldest Yajurvedic texts, but which was unknown to the Ṛgveda. The eagle, moreover, is a favourite motif in the Bactrian seals (**cf. fig. 7**). Sanskrit **śyena** 'falcon' corresponds to Avestan **saēna**, which, together with **vārə(n)jan** 'falcon', is associated with the god of victory.[449]

Another highly anomalous Vedic rite can be recognized as closely related to the vrātyastomas by means of shared rare components. It is the **mahā-vrata**, the feast concluding a sacrificial session, which usually lasted for a year.[450] At the high point of the mahāvrata, "they make a **māgadha** and a **puṁścalū** copulate on the southern border of the vedi" (JB 2,405). A celibate student and a harlot scolded each other. The prostitute reviled the ascetic because he has broken his vow of chastity,[451] while the ascetic reproached the girl as "a vile harlot, the washerwoman of the warring band, who cleanses the member of every man."[452]

The culmination of the mahāvrata also comprised other acts not normally found in a Vedic rite. People shouted for joy. The sacrificers were praised and reviled by special officiants. Young maidens, expressly said to be **dāsīs**, i.e. slave girls of Dāsa descent, danced around the fireplace used for "cleansing" the utensils,[453] carrying water pots,

[446] Cf. Rau 1957: 15; Falck 1986: 47f.

[447] Cf. Witzel 1987a: 197.

[448] Red is the colour of Rudra.

[449] Cf.Yašt 14,19. 35-38.41; Schmidt 1980: 5, 21f. — Possibly the bird's beak of the rider has a similar symbolism in the distinctive horse-rider statuettes that, alongside with the statuettes of the two-humped Bactrian camel, characterize the early periods of Pirak in Sind (c. 1800-1100 B.C.).

[450] The vrātya association of the mahāvrata was established by Hauer (1927). For a concise but penetrating description of this feast, see Rolland 1973.

[451] This **brahmacārin** probably was the same person as the **māgadha**.

[452] LŚS 4,3,11 **dhik tvā jālmi puṁścali grāmasya mārjani puruṣasya puruṣasya śiśna-praṇejanīti brahmacārī**. The attribute "washerwoman" (**mārjanī**) makes the harlot of mahāvrata parallel to the **ḍombī**, the most favoured low caste partner in cultic copulations of the later Hindu and Buddhist Tantrism (cf. Eliade 1969: 261 n. 204; Snellgrove 1987: 158f.).

[453] The name of this **mārjālīya dhiṣṇya** associates it with the harlot, who is scolded as the "washerwoman" (**mārjanī**).

smiting their thighs, and singing a song of fertility for the cows. All sorts of noise was produced, especially music by various kinds of harps, flutes and drums. This is one of the very few places in the Vedic ritual where instrumental music plays any role. Most prominent among the musical instruments were a hundred-stringed harp, which is described in detail, and a big "earth drum". The latter consisted of a hole dug in the earth and covered with a bull hide; it was beaten with a bull's tail and addressed as the goddess **Vāc** (whose name means 'sound, voice or speech')[454]. Vāc is praised in ṚS 10,125 as the highest principle, in verse 6 as the goddess of war.

The vrātyastomas[455] seem to have become obsolete fairly early, and the terms used in describing the vrātya apparel and mode of life already demanded explanation in Vedic times. The Vedic ritualists did not approve of the mahāvrata, either. While others prescribe a special shed for the sexual intercourse, where it can take place out of sight, Śāṅkhāyana (17,6,2) prohibits it altogether, calling it an "old and obsolete practice". The question whether the vrātyas were brahmanical or unbrahmanical Aryans was long disputed until it was noticed that Baudhāyana states that "in olden times" the Kurus made a vrātya expedition to the Pañcālas. Since these tribes occupy the very heart of the Vedic "middle country", it was concluded that "the vrātyas are authentic Vedic Aryans" and that their "relation to the brahmanical ritual is not one of antithesis but of precedence in development."[456]

The vrātya rites undoubtedly went out of fashion as a result of the same social changes which stand behind the Vedic reform of the śrauta ritual: violent and sexual acts were eliminated and replaced with less repulsive acts and symbols, often merely verbal. In my opinion, however, this social change was not a spontaneous development within

[454] Cf. LŚS 3,11,3.

[455] As I have briefly pointed out elsewhere (cf. Parpola 1983: 48f.), the great royal rites, and especially the horse and human sacrifices clearly originate from the same tradition as the vrātyastomas and the mahāvrata. It may be worthwile to mention here some characteristic elements that the horse sacrifice shares with those vrātya rites.

The horse sacrifice begins with a year-long military expedition, symbolically led by the chief victim, a stallion that has to remain chaste until the sacred marriage on the final culmination, rather like the leader of the vrātyas and the ascetic of the mahāvrata. During the expedition the horse is accompanied by 400 sons of royal dignitaries, including bards called **kāri-māgadhāḥ**, and with such characteristic vrātya apparel as the **vipatha** chariot. Representing the sacrificing king and his divine prototype, god Prajāpati alias Varuṇa, the horse is supposed to conquer the directions of space in the manner of the sun, another symbol of the universal king and creator.

After the expedition, the stallion is slaughtered and made to lie down, under a cover, beside the principal queen, with its member placed into her generative organ. This 'sacred marriage' is accompanied by an obscene dialogue, with the **āhanasyā** verses (AS 20,136), comparable to the scolding between the ascetic and the harlot in the mahāvrata. Simultaneously the king's other wives, together with the 400 daughters of royal dignitaries attending the four queens, go around the couple, smiting their thighs like the dāsī maidens in the mahāvrata.

The vrātyas are said to speak "what is obscene" (JB 2,222). The word used, **āhanasyam**, connects this with the **āhanasyā** verses used at the horse sacrifice. The verb **ā-han-** literally means 'to strike, smite', and it has a sexual connotation in the striking of the thigh in the dances of the horse sacrifice and the mahāvrata, as well as in the striking of the earth-drum (= the goddess Vāc) with the bull-tail in the mahāvrata. In Sanskrit, **śiśna** means both 'tail' and 'male organ'. The inimical **śiśná-devāḥ** 'those who have the phallus (or the tail) for their deity', who are referred to a couple of times in the Ṛgveda (7,21,5; 10,99,3), are most likely to have been vrātyas.

[456] Heesterman 1962: 36.

one single Vedic community, but the result of a fusion of different societies. For one thing, though the tribal name Kuru is extremely common in the Brāhmaṇa texts and the epic, yet it figures in the Ṛgveda only in a single royal name, Kuru-śravaṇa Trāsadasyava.[457] We shall return to this question in a moment. Secondly, the antithesis of the two competing traditions, the vrātya ritual and the Vedic ritual, stands out clearly e.g. in the following myth (JB 2,69-70):

When Prajāpati and Mṛtyu sacrificed, they competed with each other by means of their sacrifices. At that time the implements of the sacrifice were like arrows and (other) weapons today. What is lauded (by the Sāmavedic priests), what is praised (by the Ṛgvedic priests), and what is performed (by the Yajurvedic priests) in the sacrifice, that formed Prajāpati's army. Mṛtyu's army, on the other hand, consisted of what is sung to the accompaniment of the harp, what is danced, and what is performed for pleasure. Their armies were equal: as great as was that of the one, as great was that of the other. For a long time, for many years, they could not subdue each other.

Prajāpati desired: 'I want to overcome Mṛtyu!' He saw this concord in the sacrifice, this numerical equivalence. Thereby he overcame Mṛtyu... That is why they say: "There is no rivalling performance of rites nowadays, for that which was the second sacrifice, that decayed. (Now) there is just one single sacrifice: Prajāpati is the sacrifice."

Mṛtyu was finally overcome by means of symbolical "mathematics" typical of the śrauta ritual. In the omitted passage, the various parts of the harp and its playing are equated with the central acts of the Soma sacrifice that prevailed in the end. These equations emphasize the pivotal position which the harp had in Mṛtyu's sacrifice: the intimate relationship of the latter with the mahāvrata is clear.

This story cannot be separated from the numerous stories of similar sacrificial strife between victorious gods and losing asuras, said to be of common descent. That these divine actors represent their respective worshippers is clear from ŚB 13,8,1,5:

Four-cornered (is the sepulchral mound). Now the gods and asuras, both of them sprung from Prajāpati, were contending in the (four) regions. The gods drove out the asuras, their rivals and enemies, from the regions, and, being regionless, they were overcome. Wherefore the people who are godly make their burial-places four-cornered, whilst those who are devilish, the easterners and others, (make them round, for they (the gods) drove them out of the regions...[458]

The Asura worshippers are here specified to be the easterners (**prācyāḥ**), that is, Magadhans: according to Megasthenes, the city of Palimbothra (i.e. Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Magadha) was situated in the country of Πρασιοι (= **prācyāḥ**).[459] The reference to their round burial mounds agrees with the round form of the stūpas in eastern India.

The vrātya rituals have several more or less explicit connections with the eastern country of Magadha.[460] Thus the social terms connected with the vrātyas are unusual for the Veda, but remind one of Buddhism and Jainism, religions of Magadha: the texts speak of **arhat**, **yaudha**, **sthavira**, and of **gaṇa** or **saṅgha**. The wandering bard from

[457] ṚS 10,32,9 & 10,33,4. Pākasthāman Kaurayāṇa (ṚS 8,3,21) which is also mentioned e.g. in Macdonell & Keith 1912: I, 167, is derived from Kurayāṇa.

[458] Compare the above discussed contrast between the square and the round temple-forts of the Namazga VI period in Margiana (Togolok-21) and Bactria (Dashly-3).

[459] Cf. Arrian, Indica 10,5: **megistēn dè pólin Indōisin eînai <tēn> Palimbothra kaleoménēn, en tēi Prasiōn gēi, ...**

[460] Cf. Weber 1850: 51ff.

Magadha, who accompanies the vrātyas, of course provides a direct link. Moreover, the vrātya apparel is to be given to an unworthy Brahmin (**brahmabandhu**) hailing from Magadha (**māgadha-deśīya**, LŚS 8,6,28). The **vipatha** chariot of the vrātyas is explained to be **prācya-ratha** 'the chariot of the easterners' (LŚS 8,6,9).

That the vrātya rituals became obsolete within the Vedic tradition does not mean that they did so outside the Vedic area. The esoteric Śākta religion, which surfaces in eastern India around the beginning of the Christian era, is likely to continue in an essentially uncontaminated form the religion of the "easterners" referred to in the Vedic texts. The supreme deity worshipped in this tradition is the goddess, the spouse and "power" (**śakti**) of Śiva.

Śaktism has long been prevalent especially in eastern India, but also for a very long time in the northern mountains from Gandhāra to Assam.[461] A passage in the Mahābhārata (8,30) speaks of the Vāhīkas[462] and Madras, peoples residing in the northern Punjab, beyond the borders of orthodox Brahmanism. They are expressly called **vrātyas** and are said to be lawless and impure: one should not live even a moment among them. The fairly detailed description of vrātya feasts in the city of Śākala (modern Sialkot) leaves little doubt that they represent the unpurged prototype of the Vedic mahāvrata, including as they do unrestained drinking, eating of different kinds of meat, obscene songs and dances, and general orgies. The etymology of the name Madra is in agreement with this description, for it can be derived from the root **mad-** 'to rejoice, get drunk'.[463]

Besides the Kuru-Pañcālas, the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa (8,14) speaks of "the lands of the northern Kurus and the northern Madras beyond the Himavant", which has been plausibly understood to refer to Kashmir.[464] The Kuru king Janamejaya Pārikṣita occupies a prominent position both in the Mahābhārata and in the proto-epic gāthās of the Veda (he performed a horse sacrifice),[465] and his ancestor Parikṣít Kaúravya is mentioned in AS 20,127,8 (cf. also Kauravá-[466] in verse 1); this verse belongs to the Kuntāpa hymns, which contain the obscene stanzas recited at the horse sacrifice and much other originally non-brahmanical material.[467] AS 20,127,10cd "people prosper well in the realm of Parikṣit" constitutes in Vaitānasūtra 34,9 the end of the gāthā-like strophes sung around the cleansing fire by the Dāsī girls at the mahāvrata.[468] Etymologically, the name of the Kurus appears to be related to the Old Persian proper name **Kūruš** (in Greek **Kũros**):[469] has it been inherited from the Bronze Age culture of Greater Iran?[470]

461 Cf. Kooij 1972: 33ff.

462 The Bāhīkas are put on par with the "easterners" in Vedic texts: ŚB 1,7,3,8 identifies Agni with Rudra, adding that Rudra is called Śarva by the easterners and Bhava by the Bāhīkas.

463 Cf. Mayrhofer 1963: II, 570, 568.

464 Cf. Zimmer 1879: 101-103; Macdonell & Keith 1912: I, 169 n. 44.

465 Cf. Horsch 1966: 253ff.

466 Cf. Hoffmann 1975: I, 6f.

467 Cf. Bloomfield 1899: 96-101.

468 Cf. Horsch 1966: 253 n. 1. According to Mahābhārata 1,95,41, Parikṣit was the son of Anaśvan and a **māgadhī** called Amṛtā (cf. ibid. 426).

469 Mayrhofer 1956: I, 236 is hesitant, however.

470 The father and son of Cyrus the Great were both called **Ka^{m}būjiya** (in Greek Καμβύσης); this Old Persian proper name has long been etymologically connected with the tribe called Kamboja (Zimmer

According to the late Vedic texts, the "easterners" worshipped Asuras. We have seen that this name originally belonged to the deities worshipped by the inimical Dāsas and therefore at first had the meaning 'demon' for the Ṛgvedic Aryans, but was then adopted by them as an attribute of their own divinities with a positive meaning. Now the word Asura again refers to inimical gods. It seems reasonable to assume that the "easterners", as the earliest Aryan immigrants in the plains of north India who had progressed furthest towards the east, were closely related to the Dāsas of Bactria.

It seems that this hypothesis can be corroborated in different ways. Thus the reference in Aitareya Āraṇyaka (5,1,5) to the mating of many animal couples at the mahāvrata feast could explain the scene on a Namazga V related cylinder seal from Bactria **(fig. 28)**. Moreover, the later Śākta Tantric religion seems have preserved "insider" traditions relating to the buildings of Dashly-3 in Bactria and the Dāsa forts. These will be examined closer in the following.

The goddess and the fort

The ceremonial citadel of Dashly-3 has been compared earlier with Avestan **var** 'fort': in Vendidad 2,21-43, the **var** is a fortified elysium, constructed by the first man and first king, **Yima**.[471] The Vedic counterpart of Avestan Yima is **Yama**, the king of the dead and the first mortal.[472] King Yama survives as the supreme deity **Imra** (< **Yama-rāja**) of the 'pagan' (Kafiri) tribes of northeast Afghanistan. These Nuristani tribes have preserved the idea of a divine fortress, connected with their most important goddess, **Disani**.[473]

The goddess Disani is said to have come into being from Imra's right breast,[474] and

1879: 102; Macdonell & Keith 1912: I, 138; but Mayrhofer 1956: I, 161f. hesitantly prefers an Austro-asiatic etymology). Madragāra Śauṅgāyani is mentioned as the Sāmavedic teacher of Kāmboja Aupamanyava in Vaṁśa-Brāhmaṇa 2, which suggests a neighbourhood of the Madras and Kambojas (cf. Zimmer 1879: 102). According to Yāska's Nirukta (2,2), the Kambojas had woollen blankets (**kambala**) — such a blanket covers the queen in the sacred marriage of the horse sacrifice — and in their language (opposed to that of the Aryans), the verb **śavati** means 'to go' (cf. Avestan **šav-** 'to get going' corresponding to Sanskrit **cyavate**, cf. Mayrhofer 1976: III, 315; Turner 1966: no. 4939).

471 Cf. Jettmar 1981; Brentjes 1981a: 8-15.

472 Cf. Macdonell 1897: 8, 172f. As the first of mortals that died, i.e. of men (AS 18,3,13) and as "our father" (ṚS 10,135,1), Yama is a duplicate of Manu 'man', the first sacrificer (ṚS 10,63,7) and "our father" (ṚS 2,33,13); both are called "son of Vivasvat" (cf. Macdonell 1897: 139). The parallellism of these two figures suggests that Yama is an intruder in the Ṛgvedic tradition, for Manu as the representative of the Aryan man is often contrasted with Dasyus. This is supported also by Yama's prominence in the late tenth book of the Ṛgveda, which dates from times of the above proposed second acculturation.

Considering the explanation of the phrase "autumnal fort" offered below, it is significant that in later Hinduism Yama as the god of death rides the buffalo, the animal most intimately associated with the worship of the goddess of victory. Her great autumnal feast celebrates the victory of Durgā over the Buffalo Demon, Mahiṣa Asura (cf. Kane 1958: 5.1, 155f.), and a bull buffalo has until recently been the usual victim sacrificed on this occasion (ibid. 165). The mantra uttered over the buffalo includes the words, "You are the vehicle of Yama" (ibid. 167). Sacrifices of hundreds of buffaloes are mentioned as conducive to victory in a few early hymns of the Ṛgveda (6,17,11; 5,29,7-8; 8,12,8), but not in later Vedic literature. For a detailed discussion, see Parpola (1984) in press.

473 Cf. Jettmar 1981: 226f.

474 Cf. Jettmar 1975: 101. Other Kafirs, however, consider the god Sudrem as the father of Disani, and in the south (e.g. in Wama) her father is Indr.

is connected with fertility and death: she brings the dead into the house of Disani, and she is accompanied by the seven Paneu, divine killers who end human life with their arrows.[475] The name Disani is derived from the name of goddess **Dhiṣáṇā**,[476] who is known as a divine figure from the Veda, but whose relative obscurity suggests that her cult originated outside the tradition of the Sauma Aryans.[477] In the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (6,5,4,5) "the divine Dhiṣaṇās" are associated with the cultic fireplaces (**dhiṣṇya**) of the Vedic ritual.[478] The round building in the centre of this Dashly-3 fort, about 40 m in diameter, has had a cultic function, for it contains a brick platform with fire altars.[479] We have already referred to other evidence that seems to connect the Vedic fire altars with those of the Bactrian and Harappan traditions and with the Hindu cult of yoni and liṅga,[480] which is associated with the cult of Śiva[481] and the cult of the Goddess.[482]

A monumental square "palace" with T-shaped corridors in the middle of each of the four walls was also found in Dashly-3 (**fig. 29a**).[483] Its ground plan is evidently the prototype of the later Tantric maṇḍala (**fig. 29b**)[484] and supports the assumption that an early form of Śākta worship may have been the religion of the aristocratic rulers of Bactria.[485] Several compartmental metal seals of the Bactrian Bronze Age culture depict a goddess associated with lion(s) and/or eagles (**fig. 30**). A fine silver seal from north Afghanistan, dated c. 2000 B.C., shows a goddess whose upper body is nude and the lower body dressed in an Elamite style *kaunakes* skirt, riding a horned griffin and flanked by two antelopes (**fig. 30g**).[486]

ṚS 2,14,3 refers to an enemy chief **Ṛbhīka** apparently associated with the Paṇis (Śambara, Varcin, Pipru and other well known Dāsas are mentioned in the following verses). This name has been compared[487] to the people called **Dérbikes** living as nomads between the Caspian sea and the Teǰend oasis before the invasion of the Parnoi in 240 B.C. (cf. Strabo 11,8,8 & 11,9,1, C. 514).[488] An interesting piece of information about the religion of these people, who have been identified with the Dahas[489], supports the above proposed association of the Dāsa forts with the worship of Durgā. Strabo (11,11,8, C. 520) states: "the Derbices...slaughter people even for slight offenses. The Derbices worship Mother Earth; and they do not sacrifice, or eat, anything that is

475 Cf. Jettmar 1975: 98.

476 Cf. Turner 1966: no. 6813.

477 Cf. Johansson 1917.

478 Cf. Parpola 1985: 59.

479 Cf. Sarianidi 1986a: 57-64.

480 Cf. further Parpola 1985: 55ff., 115ff., 147.

481 Cf. Parpola 1985: 103ff.

482 Cf. Parpola 1985: 113-115

483 Cf. Sarianidi 1986a: 64-71.

484 Cf. Brentjes 1981a: 26; Jettmar 1981a: 227.

485 Cf. Parpola 1985: 78.

486 On this seal and the goddess, cf. Pottier 1980 and Amiet 1986: 197f. & 319 fig. 184.

487 Cf. Ludwig 1878: III, 207; Wüst 1935: 110; Mayrhofer 1963: II, 61.

488 The Derbikes have also been compared with the Avestan **drivikā**, who according to Vendidad 1,8 are a creation of the bad spirit Ahriman in the Haraivā country; cf. Gnoli 1980: 67 n. 58.

489 Cf. Kiessling 1916: 490.

female[490]; and when men become over seventy years of age they are slaughtered, and their flesh is consumed by their nearest of kin; but their old women are strangled and then buried. However, the men who die under seventy of age are not eaten, but only buried."

In another forthcoming study I have presented further evidence for a much greater antiquity of the worship of the goddess **Durgā** in India than is generally assumed, taking it back to the Indus Civilization and connecting it ultimately with the cults of feline-riding goddesses of war in the ancient Near East. In this connection, I have argued at length for the derivation of Durgā's name from **durga** 'fort'.[491] Another very significant name of Durgā as worshipped in eastern India directly connects the goddess with the three-walled strongholds of the Asuras, namely, **Tripurā** or **Tripura-sundarī**.[492]

The 6th chapter of the Old Tamil epic Maṇimēkalai describes a temple dedicated to the dread goddess of war, death and forest:

> The temple was situated outside the city of Pukār that had come into being along with it, in a nearby grove that functioned as a cemetery. Surrounded by an enclosure wall with a gate in each of the cardinal directions, the temple was called **cakkara-vāḷa-kōṭṭam**: it represented Mt. Meru in the centre of the earth, surrounded by circular continents topped by high mountain ridges and separated from each other by oceans. The trees in front of the temple carried the heads of men who had voluntarily made the supreme sacrifice to the goddess: the worshipper tied his head to the branches by hair, and himself severed it with a sword. Emaciated ascetics, doing penance in the cremation ground, made garlands of broken skulls. Other ascetics offered cooked food under **vaṉṉi** trees[493].

This passage gives a clue to the origin of the well-known but somewhat odd conception of the universe in the epic and Puranic texts. The word **cakra-vāḷa** qualifying the word **kōṭṭam** 'fort' in the above passage denotes the 'cosmic circular mountain range', but literally means 'circle-fence' (**vāḷa** < **vāḍa** < **vāṭa**, a 'Prakritic' derivation from the root **vṛ-** 'to enclose'[494]). The curious idea of circular and concentric continents separated by circular and concentric oceans seems to have developed from the model originally provided by the Dāsa strongholds, if we assume that their concentric fortification walls were separated by moats.[495]

Maṇimēkalai calls the temple of the goddess **kōṭṭam** 'fort'. The Tamil word is of the same origin as Nepali **kōṭ** and Newari **kvāṭha** 'fortress, stronghold', which are used by the people of Panauti in the Kathmandu valley to describe the small house situated to the west of their small town; normally empty, it has an altar erected in honour of Durgā

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[490] Strabo 11,11,8, C. 520 **sébontai dè Gẽn hoi Dérbikes. thúousi d' oudèn thẽlu oudè esthíousi**. According to the Kālikā-Purāṇa (71,95f.), only male animals (including men) may be offered to the goddess: the persons who sacrifice females will go to hell (**paśūnāṁ pakṣiṇāṁ vāpi narāṇāṁ ca viśeṣataḥ / striyaṁ na dadyāt tu baliṁ dattvā narakam āpnuyāt**); cf. Kane 1958: V.1, 164.

[491] Parpola (1984) in press. The main points of this study submitted for publication four years ago were presented in guest lectures delivered in May 1986 at the Universities of Bonn and Utrecht and at Musée Guimet, Paris. Only a few aspects are briefly mentioned here now.

[492] Cf. Parpola (1984) in press.

[493] **Vaṉṉi**, from Sanskrit **vahni** 'fire', is the **śamī** tree, intimately connected with the cult of Durgā.

[494] Cf. Mayrhofer 1976: III, 183.

[495] This is not the case in Dashly-3, where only the outer square wall has a moat. The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra (2,3,4), on the other hand, prescribes the digging of three moats around the stronghold, paved with stones and filled with water, lotuses and crocodiles. The dug-out earth was used for building the ramparts with brick parapets on top.

(symbolized by a sword) during the Dasai festival. On the tenth day of the festival, the **vijayadaśamī**, the community offers a goat to the goddess. Durgā's function as the guardian deity of the stronghold is very clear in all Nepal, where she has a sanctuary in every fort, in every garrison, and presides over the defence of the country.[496]

Most of the Harappan settlements were fortified, and they covered a very wide area from Afghanistan, Baluchistan and the Upper Indus valley down to Gujarat. The forts or fortified towns in this area, especially in the mountain regions, are nowadays mostly called **kōṭ**. This word goes back to Prakrit and Sanskrit **kōṭ(ṭ)a** 'fort'; in Indo-Aryan the word is first attested in Aśoka's edicts, where it refers to the northwest; in Sanskrit texts it is not found before the Pañcatantra and the Kathāsaritsāgara, which are both northwestern texts.[497] The etymon is generally acknowledged to go back to Dravidian ***kōṭ(ṭ)a(y)** 'fort, wall'.[498]

According to Vāmana-Purāṇa (37,54), **Kōṭṭavī** is the ancient name of the (feline-faced) goddess Carcikā worshipped with phallic rites and a serpent cult at Hiṅgulāja, a volcanic site producing vermilion or cinnabar (**hiṅgula**) in south Baluchistan, an Early Harappan area where Dravidian is still spoken. "Of the unguents applied to the body, vermilion causes the greatest delight to the goddess" (KP 56, 31). In Harivaṁśa (3,22-27), Kō(ṭ)ṭavī saves Kumāra (the young god of war) by placing herself stark naked[499] between her protégé and her brother Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, who is about to kill Kumāra with his discus weapon.[500] The name can be explained to consist of the word **kōṭ(ṭ)a** 'fort, stronghold' + the suffix **-va-** 'provided with' + the feminine suffix **-ī**;[501] cf. **Koṭeśvarī** 'Mistress of the fort' (KP 68,79). It is thus a synonym of **Durgā** < **durga** 'fort'.

The goddess **Tripurā** is to be meditated upon in the form of a naked woman (KP 66,86-90; 67,63-67). This nakedness of the Indian goddess of war, attested in the above quotation also for Kōṭṭavī, demands comparison with the nude goddess of war standing on a lion whose representations start to appear in seals from Cappadocia, Mesopotamia and Syria in the Old Babylonian period,[502] about the same time as the Mitanni Aryans are supposed to have arrived.

The "autumnal fort" and Śaṁbara

The names Durgā, Aparājitā, Kōṭṭavī and Tripurā all connect the goddess of war with the fort. To this list may be added **Śāradā**. In antiquity, Kashmir was known as the land of the goddess Śāradā. Her temple at the present-day fort of **Śardi** (< ***Śāradī**) was widely

496 Cf. Toffin 1981: 60, 77.

497 Cf., also for Neo-Indo-Aryan, Turner 1966: 181f. no. 3500.

498 Cf. Mayrhofer 1956: I, 270; Burrow & Emeneau 1982: 198 no. 2207.

499 According to Amarakośa and other lexica, the word **kōṭ(ṭ)avī** means 'naked woman'.

500 Cf. Filliozat 1973: xxviii.

501 This etymology proposed by the Calcuttan Pandit Vācaspati is quoted with approval by Filliozat (1973: xxx), who however finally prefers to derive the word from the Old Tamil name of the goddess, **Koṟṟavai**. This Tamil name, however, has a parallel in Malayalam only (cf. Burrow & Emeneau 1982: no. 2169) and is evidently derived from the Dravidian root **kol** 'to kill' (cf. ibid. no. 2132), cf. Tamil **kolai-makaḷ** 'Durgā, as having slain the Asuras'.

502 Cf. Hörig 1979: 104 n. 2.

famed and still attracts pilgrims in the month of Bhādrapada,[503] i.e. at the beginning of the autumn (**śarad**),[504] when the crops ripen and the "autumnal great worship" (**śāradīya-mahāpūjā**)[505] of Durgā is celebrated.[506] According to the Kālikā-Purāṇa (69,1), the goddess was named Śāradā, "because she was formerly awakened by the gods in the time of autumn (**śarat-kāle**) on the ninth day". The goddess Śāradā is connected with the stronghold through the Ṛgvedic phrase **śāradī pur** used of the Dāsa forts.[507] It has already been pointed out that the living facilities of the "ceremonial fort" of Dashly-3 are such that it could not have been permanently inhabited: people of the neighbouring regions must have come to stay there in relative discomfort only for a limited time, probably during a yearly festival.[508]

The Navarātra, or the nine-day Durgā worship, immediately followed by the "tenth day of victory" (**vijaya-daśamī**) celebrated in memory of Durgā's victory over the Buffalo demon, is the principal yearly feast of the goddess. It takes place at the beginning of the autumn, when military operations have traditionally started. Another, less important, feast in honour of Durgā is celebrated in the spring, at the beginning of the Caitra month (March-April). Temporally these Durgā feasts very nearly coincide with the equinoxes, which were the original dates of the mahāvrata and viṣuvat festivals, the turning points of the Vedic sacrificial year. The mahāvrata in its turn is closely related to the vrātya-stomas, the archaic rituals connected with the beginning and end of raiding expeditions. There is thus a close temporal and functional similarity between the Durgā feasts and the feasts of the vrātya tradition. Moreover, the vrātya feasts had an orgiastic character, which was not approved of by the orthodox Vedic Brahmans.

According to the Kālikā-Purāṇa (63,18ff.), the autumnal feast of Durgā is concluded on the tenth day, when the Goddess is dismissed with **Śābara**-festivities and the army is lustrated:

> People should be engaged in amorous play with single women, young girls, courtesans and dancers, amidst the sounds of horns and instruments, and with drums and kettle-drums, with flags and various sorts of cloths covered with a miscellany of parched grain and flowers; by throwing dust and mud; with auspicious ceremonies for fun; by mentioning the female and male organs, with songs on the male and female organs, and with words expressive of the sexual act, until they have enough of it. If one is not derided by others, if one does not deride others, the goddess will be angry with him and utter a dreadful curse.

The name of the high point in the great autumnal festival of Durgā is **śābarotsava**

[503] Cf. Stein 1900: II, 279-289.

[504] Cf. Renou & Filliozat 1953: II, 733.

[505] Tithyāditya in Śabdakalpadruma, quoted in Böhtlingk & Roth 1875: VII, 150.

[506] Cf. Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa 89,11 **śaratkāle mahāpūjā kriyate** (quoted from Kane 1958: V.1, 154).

[507] So far the epithet **śāradī-** 'autumnal' has been interpreted either as 'that which offers a shelter in autumn (against the overflowing of rivers)' or 'rich in autumns (i.e. years), old', or 'constructed in autumn (against possible attacks)' implying only "provisional defences to be repaired or rebuilt every autumn after the floods of the rainy season" (cf. Rau 1976: 36f.). But as the overpowering of the "autumnal" forts is magnified as a great feat of Indra, they are more likely to have been impressive rather than insignificant.

[508] Jettmar 1981a: 222f. Still today the Kalash Kafirs of Chitral yearly gather for a period of at least two weeks for their midwinter festival, when "the whole village was transformed into sacred precincts", in which, "according to common belief, deities and demons, human souls and spirits of animals could freely mix with the living". Some of the most important rites are held in an assembly hall functioning as "a temple of the genealogical unit deified in the shape of the Great Mother." (Ibid. 225.)

'the feast of the Śabaras'.[509] The word **śabara-** in classical Sanskrit denotes a 'wild tribe (living in the mountains)', and some non-Aryan tribes are called by this name even today. Thus the word **habarayā** is used in the Sinhalese language of the aboriginal Veddas of Sri Lanka, while **saūra, sa(h)ara** in Oriya denotes 'a caste of aboriginal Gaṛajāts' and **Sōrā** (or **Saora, Savara**) is the name of a tribe of Austro-Asiatic speakers in Orissa. The word **śabara-** is attested for the first time in AB 7,18, where Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas are mentioned as Dasyu peoples who live in large numbers beyond the borders. But the earliest context for the inimical **Śabara** is supplied by the often assumed connection with the proper name of the Dāsa king **Śámbara** who according to the Ṛgveda had 99 or 100 castles in the mountains. Indeed, the name **Śámbara** has often been cited as evidence for the Austroasiatic affinity of the Dāsas.[510]

A clue to the etymology of **Śámbara**[511] is given by its epic variants, **Sambara, Samvara, Saṁvara**.[512] The spellings **Śambara, Śaṁvara, Sambara, Saṁvara** are found also in the name of the Tantric Buddhist deity derived from the Śaiva tradition of eastern India (= Bhairava),[513] probably a lineal descendent of a Dāsa god of war.[514] This variation is a clue to the etymology of the name. It suggests that the name is derived from the same root **vṛ-** 'to surround, enclose, protect, ward off' (with the prefix **sam**)[515] as the Avestan word **var-** for the 'fortress' built by Yima (at Ahura's order),[516] to which the Dashly-3 cultic citadel has been compared.[517] The meaning 'fort' is actually required in ṚS 2,24,2, where Indra is said to have rent the **śáṁbarāṇi** (neuter plural).[518] The nearly identical word **saṁvaraṇa**, usually meaning '(secret) enclosure for cattle', occurs as a

509 Cf. e.g. Kane 1958: V.1, 176f.

510 Cf. Mayrhofer 1976: III, 299f. However, from the fact that the word **śabara-** was later used of a foreign tribe living in eastern India and speaking Austroasiatic it does not follow that the mountain tribes against whom the early Vedic Aryans were fighting in Bactria were Austroasiatic speakers. For instance the word **mleccha-** similarly used of inimical foreigners in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa was later applied to the Muslims.

511 A rivalling etymology for **Śámbara** proposed by Grassmann (1873: 1380) but not mentioned by Mayrhofer (1976: III, 299f.) derives it from the word **śámba-** 'cudgel', mentioned as a weapon of Indra in ṚS 10,42,7. This etymology would exclude any relationship to the word **śabara-**.

512 Like **Śámbara**, these variant names denote a demoniac enemy of Indra. Cf. e.g. Mahābhārata 8,4397 (ed. Calcutta) **ubhau ca sadṛśau yuddhe sambarāmararājayoḥ**; Rāmāyaṇa 4,12,8; 5,18,29; and other references in Böhtlingk & Roth 1875: VII, 465.

513 Cf. Snellgrove 1987: 153ff.; Mallmann 1975: 183, 187-189.

514 **Śámbara** appears to be the Dāsa counterpart of Indra as the god of war, a mythical opponent comparable to **Vṛtra**, whose name means 'defence, protection, resistance', from the root **var-** 'to surround, protect' (cf. Mayrhofer 1976: III, 247f.).

515 The word **saṁ-vara-** has the adjectival meaning of 'warding off, keeping back, stopping, restraining', and as a masculine noun in Bhaṭṭikāvya it means 'dam, mound' (here, too, it is "often confounded and written with **śambara**"). Cf. Monier-Williams 1899: 1116a. In Jainism, **saṁvara** means the 'warding off' of the influx of karma into the soul, cf. Schubring 1935: 186.

516 Cf. Bartholomae 1904: 1363f. For **var- + ham**, cf. ibid. 1360. **Var** 'fort, citadel', evidently an Iranian loanword, is attested in Hungarian since A.D. 1055 (cf. Joki 1973: 336 no. 193).

517 Cf. Jettmar 1981a; Brentjes 1981a: 8-15.

518 Cf. Burrow 1977: 74: "It is worth noting that on one occasion the neuter plural of this word, **śámbarāṇi**, is actually used in the sense of 'fort' (RV 2,24,2). I am inclined to see this meaning also in the passage (RV 1,59,6)... **ádhūnot kā́ṣṭhā áva śámbaraṁ bhet**. If we translate this "he shattered the palisades and broke down the rampart" we get a very suitable meaning..."

proper name in a Ṛgvedic hymn (5,33,10), which also refers to the Dāsas and king Trasadasyu. In the Avesta, the cognate word **hąm.varᵊti-** means 'manly courage', and is also a proper name of a deity (in modern Persian, the cognate word **gurd** means 'hero').[519]

The proposed etymology would account for the alternation **śambara** : **śabara**, corresponding to Sanskrit **sam** : **saᵒ** < ***sṃᵒ**. This explanation implies that the dialectal changes **s** > **ś** (at least intervocally and in the beginning of the word) and **v** > **b** had taken place or were starting to take place in the language of the Dāsas. Both of these changes, especially the former, are characteristic of the later Māgadhī Prakrit.[520] On the basis of the 'age and area' hypothesis of cultural anthropology, it is logical to assume that the speakers of this easternmost Prakrit belonged to the earliest wave of Aryan speakers to invade the subcontinent. The etymology under discussion suggests that the evolution of the dialectal features later characteristic of Māgadhī might have started already when the Dāsas were entering India. But do other words related to the Dāsas endorse this hypothesis?

The variation **s** : **ś** is attested in Sanskrit texts also for the word **dāsa** itself. Cf. Ṛgvedic **dāsa-** 'name of inimical people; slave' : **dāśa-** 'servant'[521] in VS 30,16, 'a mixed caste' (Manu), Lahnda **ḍahā** 'a tribe of Jats'[522]; **dāśera** = **dāsera** 'son of a slave girl, bastard'; **dāśeya** = **dāseya** 'id.' (= AB 2,19,1 **dāsyāḥ putraḥ**, Pali **dāsīputta**, Prakrit **dāsie utta**)[523]; **dāsamīya** = **dāśamīya** 'non-brahmanical tribe in the upper Indus valley'; **dāseraka-** 'name of a people' (Kāśikā on Pāṇini) = **dāśeraka-** 'name of the people of Maru (Marwar)' (Mahābhārata), whence Sindhi **ḍāhiri**, **ḍaharī** 'name of a Sindhi tribe', Lahnda **ḍāhrā** 'a division of the Kerār tribe'.[524]

A third example of the **s** : **ś** variation is the name of the Dāsa demon **Śuṣṇa** 'drought' for ***suṣṇa** (cf. Avestan **huška** 'dry'), though this can be explained as regressive assimilation as well.[525] A fourth example is a word not directly connected with

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[519] Cf. Bartholomae 1904: 1810f.; Mayrhofer 1976: III, 246.

[520] For the palatal sibilant, cf. Pischel 1900: 163 # 229; Bloch 1965: 71-73; Jha 1967: 61-64; Hinüber 1986: 110 # 219; Norman 1980: 65. According to the grammarians writing around the 5th century A.D., **ś** replaces **s** in Māgadhī. In the extant inscriptions of Aśoka, however, no dialect consistently replaces s with **ś**, and the occurrence of the palatal sibilant has been considered a scribal error or anomalous form in all inscriptions except those of the northwest. Roy Norman has pointed out, however, that epigraphic evidence shows some of the Aśokan inscriptions to be copies from originals with **ś**, while other evidence gathered by K.L. Janert suggests that in the pillar edicts s was pronounced rather like j, i.e. as a palatal sibilant. "These two conclusions may be taken as proving conclusively that in the third century B.C. Māgadhī possessed the sound **ś**" (Norman 1980: 65). For the labialization of **v**, which is not an exclusive feature of Māgadhī, cf. Jha 1967: 66-68.

[521] The dictionaries follow the ancient commentary of Mahīdhara in giving the word **dāśa-** here the meaning 'fisherman' (**dhīvara-**); this meaning is found in the immediately preceding phrase **sarobhyo dhaivaram** 'to lakes, a fisherman's son'; but the commentary gives an alternative gloss 'giver' (**dātṛ-**), and the meaning 'servant' is suggested by the context itself, **upasthāvarābhyo dāśam**: the verb **upa** + **sthā-** means 'to stand near at hand, attend on, serve, wait on, worship'.

[522] Cf. Turner 1966: 361 no. 6314 (with a query).

[523] Cf. Thieme 1937: 111-114, especially 113.

[524] Cf. Turner 1966: 361 no. 6315.

[525] Cf. Wackernagel 1896: I, 225.

the Dāsas, but denoting an animal which lives exclusively in the northwestern mountains, namely **śarabha** 'markhor, *Capra falconeri* '; the identity of this animal, revealed by the modern cognates in the northwestern languages,[526] was later mostly forgotten elsewhere, leading to its becoming an imaginary beast with eight feet. Kālidāsa, who knew the real identity of **śarabha**, stressed its **rabhas** 'impetuosity',[527] which, with **śa°** interpreted as = **sa°** 'provided with', would provide a good etymology.[528]

Interestingly, the change **s** > **ś** is found also in the late Vrācaḍa Prakrit of northern Sind.[529] The name **Vrācaḍa** is derived from the word **vrātya**, and the tribal names cited from Sindhi and Lahnda above show that people descending from the Dāsas have survived in Sind until the present day. The explanation of this **s** : **ś** fluctuation offered by the early pronunciation of Dravidian affricate ***c-** and ***-c-** as a dental **[s]** or a palatal sibilant **[ś]**[530] would suit Sind very well, if the Harappans spoke Dravidian. The above evidence, however, suggests that the change **s** > **ś** took place in Bactria already; even so, the presence of a Harappan colony (Shortughai) in northern Afghanistan makes is possible to speculate with a Dravidian substratum influence.

There are other characteristic isoglosses supporting the suggested connection between the Dāsa language and Māgadhī, namely the change **v** > **b** (**b** is attested in many Dāsa names, but rare in Vedic Sanskrit) and the preservation of **l** (> **r** in proto-Ṛgvedic-Avestan). Moreover, the change ***az** > **e** instead of ***az** > **o** connects the extreme northwestern dialect of Gāndhārī with Māgadhī,[531] and occurs in ṚS 1,34,5d **sū́re duhitā** 'daughter of the sun' besides ṚS 7,69,4b **sū́ro duhitā** (the meaning of the phrase suggests a Dāsa origin). Finally, while Dāsa as an ethnic name became rare after the Ṛgveda in the Vedic tradition and started meaning 'slave', **Dāsa-gupta** 'protected by Dāsa' occupies a prominent position in Bengali onomastics.

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526 Kati **śuṛú** m. 'the wild goat or markhor'; Pasai **śaṛó, śarú, saró** 'markhor'; Shumashti **śāru** 'ibex'; Gawarbati **śārõu** m., **śārī** f. 'markhor'; Kalasha **śāra** m. 'markhor'; Khowar **śara** m. 'markhor', Bashkarik **śara** m.f. 'markhor'; Phalura **śarái** f. 'markhor'; Shina **śārá** m.f. 'markhor'; Sindhi **sarahu** m. 'a kind of mountain goat'; Lahnda **salhā** (< ***śalabha-**) m. 'wild goat'. Cf. Turner 1966: 714 no. 12331. That **śarabha** in Vedic times already meant 'a wild goat' is clear from its correspondence with the goat (**aja**) in the two parallel series of animals, wild (**araṇya**) and domestic (**grāmya**), which are associated with the ritual of the fire altar; cf. KS 16,17; 20,8; KapS 25,8; 32,10; MS 2,7,17; 3,2,7; MŚS 6,1,7; TS 4,2,10; 5,2,9; BaudhŚS 10,34; VS 13,41-51; ŚB 7,5,2,17-32; cf. also AB 2,8; Vādh. 4: 19a.

527 Meghadūta, verse 54 (in the edition of De, 1957), first half: "on that (mountain) those markhor goats, impetuous in their violent leaps upwards, who at the risk of breaking their own bodies, immediately may (try to) reach you (the rain cloud), though you are off their path" **ye saṁrambhotpatanarabhasāḥ svāṅgabhaṅgāya tasmin muktādhvānaṁ sapadi śarabhā laṅghayeyur bhavantam** (thus most versions; De follows Vallabhadeva and some other sources in reading **ye tvāṁ muktadhvanim asahanāḥ svāṅgabhaṅgāya** [V: **kāyabhaṅgāya**] **tasmin darpotsekād upari śarabhā laṅghayisyanty alaṅghyam**).

528 This etymology has not been proposed before. The remarkable horns of the markhor would, of course, also suit the current etymology connecting **śarabha** with Sanskrit **śṛṅga** 'horn', Latin **cervus** 'deer', etc. (cf. Mayrhofer 1976: III, 305).

529 Cf. Tikkanen 1988a, citing Linguistic Survey of India VIII.1, p. 9.

530 Cf. Tikkanen 1987: 295; 1988; and Emeneau 1988.

531 The isoglosses between Māgadhī and the Gāndhārī Prakrit of the northwest might reflect a real genetic connection. In other words, part of the Dāsas could have remained in the northwest and retained their linguistic peculiarities in comparative isolation, while those who pushed eastwards also were long relatively free from the influence of other Indo-Aryan dialects.

The linguistic evidence, then, supports the hypothesis that the Dāsas probably represent the earliest wave of Aryan speakers in India which penetrated far to the east quite early so as to form the élite of the Copper Hoard culture in the Gangetic valley, and that the śākta cults go back to their vrātya region. The dialectal characteristics will serve as useful clues to the identification of further Dāsa elements in the Veda.

East Iranians and Grey Ware

The early Iron Age sites in the Atrek valley of northeastern Iran, Anau IV in southern Turkmenistan, Yaz I in Margiana, Tillya Tepe and Kuchuk Tepe in Bactria, Nad-i Ali and Mundigak VI in southern Afghanistan and Pirak III in Baluchistan, have been seen as representing a coherent, intrusive culture, which gradually became assimilated with the preceding Namazga VI culture.[532] Ghirshman has suggested that these sites represent the arrival of the East Iranians.[533]

The use of iron at Pirak begins in Period III, c. 1100 B.C. Moulds and moulded objects characteristic of the Yaz 1 complex of Central Asia are absent, however.[534] The iron slags were found in association with a new type of wheel-made pottery, grey-black in colour and often carinated.[535] This ware "seems to belong to a quite different craft tradition than the other wares at the site. Now we know that, on numerous sites in northern India, the spreading of iron was associated with the appearance of grey or black wheel-made vessels that are often carinated, and it is tempting to see a close link between the beginning of the metallurgy of iron and the production of grey wheel-made pottery at Pirak too"[536]. The Pirak gray ware is never decorated, with a few exceptions having small incised circles and incised triangles, which resemble the Jhangar style in Sind (Jhangar, Chanhu-daro).[537] "The wide diffusion of grey wares in Aghanistan, in Baluchistan and in the Indus valley at the very same time as the first iron objects appear is no doubt more than mere coincidence."[538] While at Pirak there is a continuity from the third millennium pottery to the coarse hand-made pottery of the early Iron Age, in Central Asia "there is a technological and stylistic break between Namazga VI ceramics and the painted hand-made pottety of the Iron Age complex of Yaz 1. This last material, and especially that from Tillya Tepe, is similar in some respects to some of the pottery from Pirak."[539]

There are also metallurgical parallels between Pirak and the early Iron Age sites of the Yaz 1 complex in southern Central Asia and Tillya Tepe in southern Bactria. Particularly interesting are strainers made of pierced and rolled sheet metal that have been fixed to drinking straws for drinking the unstrained liquids of the day. Several identical speci-

532 Cf. Sarianidi 1987: 46.
533 Cf. Ghirshman 1977: 59-70.
534 Cf. Jarrige & Santoni 1979: I, 398.
535 Ibid. 373-5, 377f.
536 Ibid. 377.
537 Cf. ibid. 378, 384, 395.
538 Ibid. 395.
539 Jarrige 1985b: 51f.

mens, together with pictorial illustrations, come from Syria and Egypt from the second half of the second millennium B.C. "The distribution of these strainers thus suggests that drinking habits were similar throughout a wide area of Asia" at that time.[540]

In Swat, the Ghalegay VII period (c. 500 B.C.) is characterized by monochrome red vases. This cultural horizon is assumed to reflect the "intrusion of tribal groups of northern extraction" similar to the nomadic and semi-nomadic groups of shepherd-warriors that settled in Iran in Iron Age Period III.[541]

Summary

The principal new hypotheses proposed in this paper concern the peoples called Dāsas, Dasyus and Paṇis in the Ṛgveda and often thought to have been non-Aryan speakers. On the basis of textual, archaeological and linguistic evidence it is argued that these peoples were the dominant élite of the recently discovered Bronze Age culture of Margiana and Bactria, and that they were the first to introduce the Aryan languages into India around 2000 B.C. It seems that in India this pre-Vedic wave of Aryans is represented, among other cultures, by the Gangetic Copper Hoards, and that it introduced the cult of the goddess and the protoform of the Māgadhī Prakrit in eastern India. One argument in this discussion is a new etymology of the word **śambara** attested in the Ṛgveda as the name of one of the principal Dāsa kings.

Around 1800 B.C., the first wave of Aryan speakers in Greater Iran and in India seems to have been overlaid by a second wave of Aryans coming from the northern steppes, eventually leading to the emergence of the syncretistic religions and cultures of the Veda and the Avesta, and of the Mitanni dynasty in the Near East. A vital clue to the understanding of this second wave is the newly discovered temple-fort of Togolok-21, providing the earliest evidence for the cult of Soma/Haoma (Ephedra). It enables the identification of the Ghalegay IV culture of Swat as Proto-Ṛgvedic. The old problem posed by the Nuristani languages is also discussed in this connection and a new hypothesis of their Proto-West-Iranian origin is proposed for consideration.

The correlations suggested in the course of this paper are summarized in the accompanying three maps[542] **(figs. 31-33)**.

[540] Jarrige 1985b: 53.

[541] Cf. Stacul 1970: 99f.

[542] It must be emphasized that these maps a just **sketches** purporting to illustrate the main lines of the argument: they do **not** show the exact limits of the cultures concerned nor do the arrows indicate the exact travel routes.

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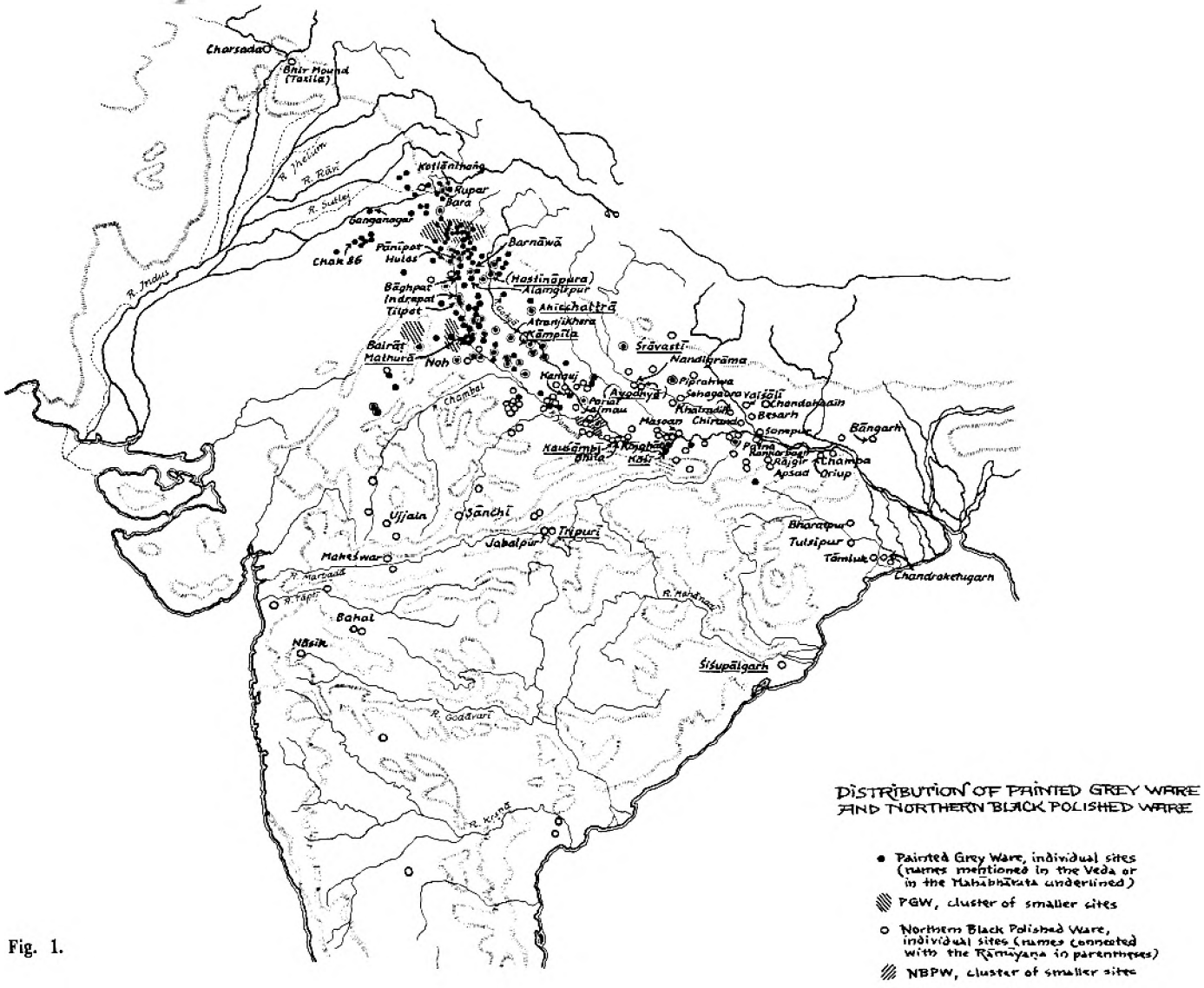

Charsadda
Bhir Mound (Taxila)
R. Jhelum
R. Ravi
R. Sutlej
Kotlanthang
Rupar
Bara
Ganganagar
Chak 86
Pānipat
Hulas
Barnāwā
(Hastināpura)
Alamgirpur
Bāghpat
Indrapat
Tilpat
Ahicchattrā
Atranjikhera
Kāmpila
Jodhpur
Bairāt
Mathurā
Noh
Kanauj
Śrāvastī
Nandigrāma
Piprahwa
Sahagaura
Vaiśālī
Ochandakasain
Besarh
Ayodhyā
Jaimau
Khairadih
Masaon
Chirand
Sonpur
Bāngarh
Kauśāmbī
Bhita
Kaul
Rajgir
Champa
Apsad
Oriup
Ujjain
Sāñchī
Tripuri
Jabalpur
Bharatpur
Tulsipur
Tāmluk
Chandraketugarh
Maheśwar
R. Narmadā
R. Tāpti
Bahal
Nāsik
R. Godāvari
R. Mahānadī
Śiśupālgarh
R. Kṛiṣṇā
DISTRIBUTION OF PAINTED GREY WARE AND NORTHERN BLACK POLISHED WARE
Painted Grey Ware, individual sites (names mentioned in the Veda or in the Mahābhārata underlined)
PGW, cluster of smaller sites
Northern Black Polished Ware, individual sites (names connected with the Rāmāyaṇa in parentheses)
NBPW, cluster of smaller sites
Sites of both types

Fig. 1.

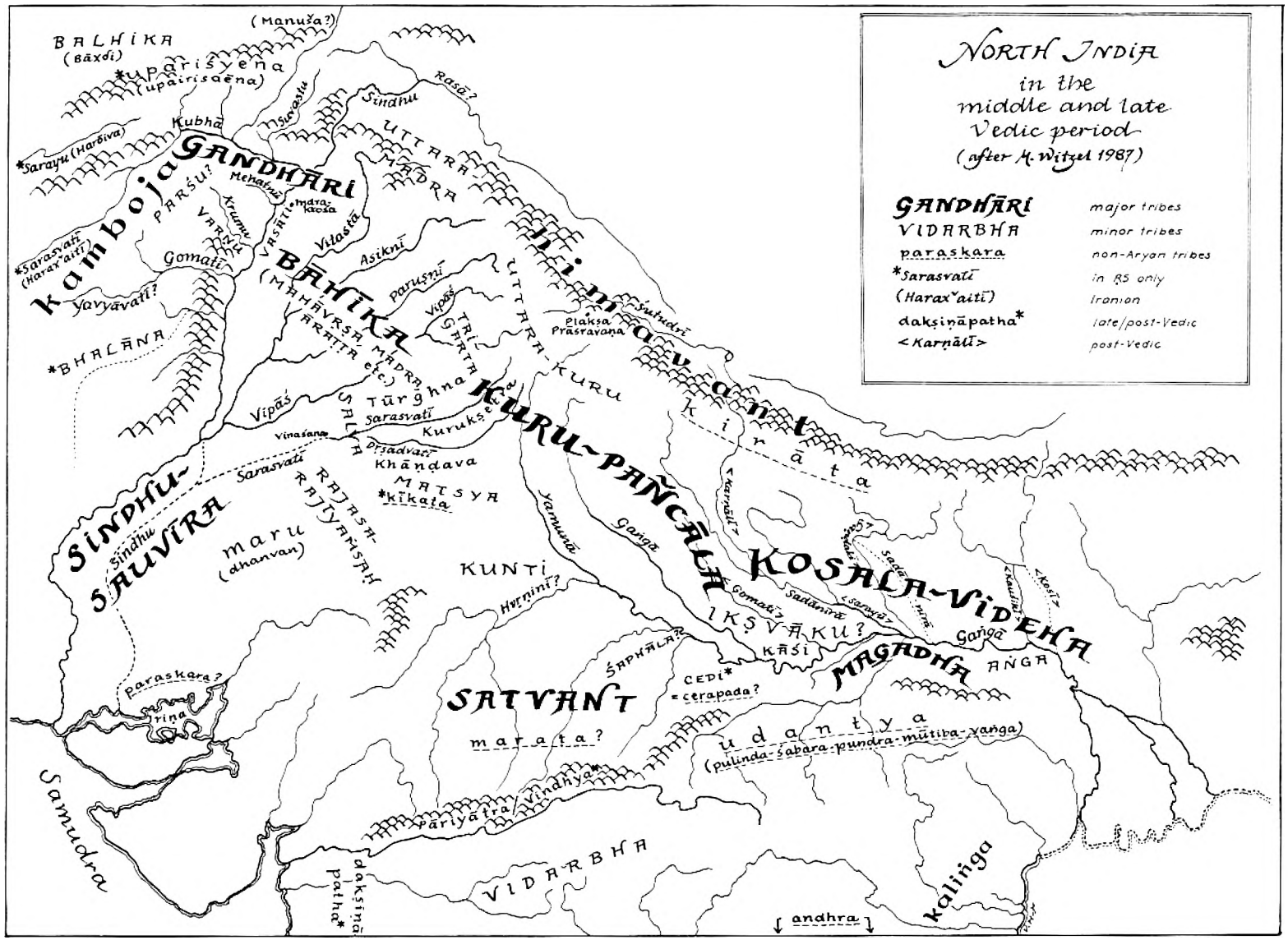

NORTH INDIA
in the
middle and late
Vedic period
(after M. Witzel 1987)
GANDHĀRI major tribes
VIDARBHA minor tribes
paraskara non-Aryan tribes
*Sarasvatī in RS only
(Haraxᵛaitī) Iranian
dakṣiṇāpatha* late/post-Vedic
<Karṇāṭī> post-Vedic
BALHIKA
(Bāxdi)
(Manuṣa?)
*upariśyena
(upairisaēna)
Kubhā
*Sarayu (Harōiva)
Sindhu
Rasā?
Śvetya
UTTARA-MADRA
GANDHĀRI
Kambojas
PARŚU?
Mehatnu
Indrakaśa
Vāśīmatī
Vitastā
Asiknī
Paruṣṇī
Vipāś
TRIGARTA
BĀHĪKA
(MAHĀVṚṢA MADRA ARĀṬṬA etc.)
UTTARA-KURU
Plakṣa Prasravaṇa
Śutudrī
Kirāta
Karṇāṭī?
Sarasvatī
(Haraxᵛaitī)
Gomatī
Yavyāvatī?
*BHALĀNA
Vipāś
Śalya
Tūrghna
Sarasvatī
Kurukṣetra
KURU-PAÑCĀLA
Vinaśana
Sindhu-
Sauvīra
Sindhu
Dṛṣadvatī
Khāṇḍava
MATSYA
*kīkaṭa
Sarasvatī
RĀJASA
RĀJYAKṢAH
maru
(dhanvan)
Yamunā
Gaṅgā
KUNTI
Hṛṣṇinī?
Gomatī?
Sadānīrā
Sarayū?
Śoṇa
Sadā-nīrā
Kauśikī
Kośī
KOSALA-VIDEHA
IKṢVĀKU?
Gaṅgā
KĀŚI
MAGADHA
AṄGA
ŚAPHĀLA?
CEDI*
=cerapada?
SATVANT
maratа?
udantya
(pulinda-śabara-pundra-mūtiba-vaṅga)
paraskara?
Triṇa
Samudra
Pāriyātra/Vindhya*
dakṣiṇā
patha*
VIDARBHA
andhra
Kaliṅga

Fig. 2.

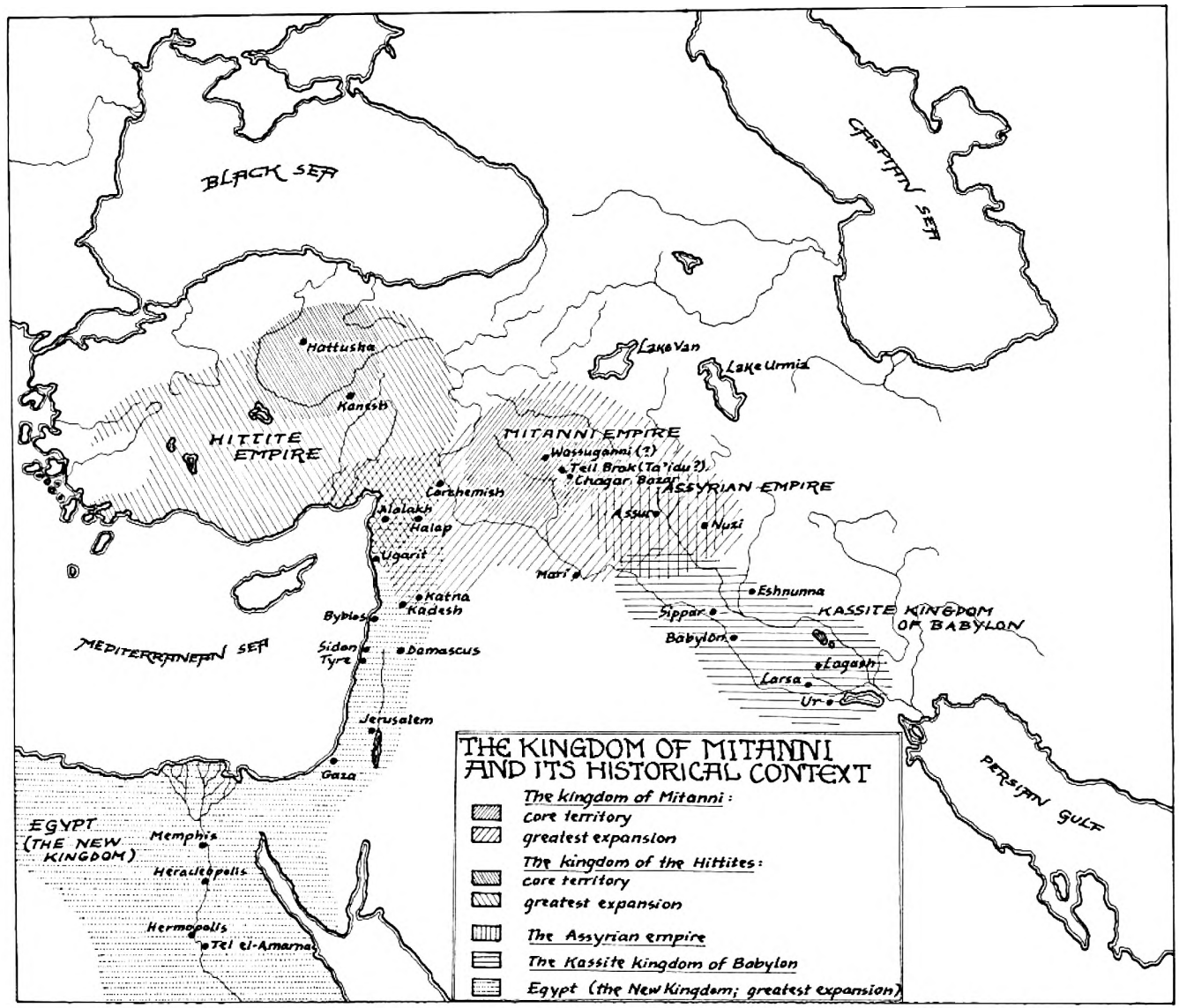

BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Hattusha
Kanesh
HITTITE EMPIRE
Lake Van
Lake Urmia
MITANNI EMPIRE
Wassuganni (?)
Teil Brak (Ta'idu?)
Chagar Bazar
ASSYRIAN EMPIRE
Carchemish
Alalakh
Halap
Assur
Nuzi
Ugarit
Mari
Eshnunna
Katna
Kadesh
Sippar
KASSITE KINGDOM OF BABYLON
Byblos
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Babylon
Lagash
Larsa
Ur
Jerusalem
Gaza
PERSIAN GULF
EGYPT (THE NEW KINGDOM)
Memphis
Heracleopolis
Hermopolis
Tel el-Amarna
THE KINGDOM OF MITANNI AND ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT
The kingdom of Mitanni:
core territory
greatest expansion
The kingdom of the Hittites:
core territory
greatest expansion
The Assyrian empire
The Kassite kingdom of Babylon
Egypt (the New Kingdom; greatest expansion)

Fig. 3.

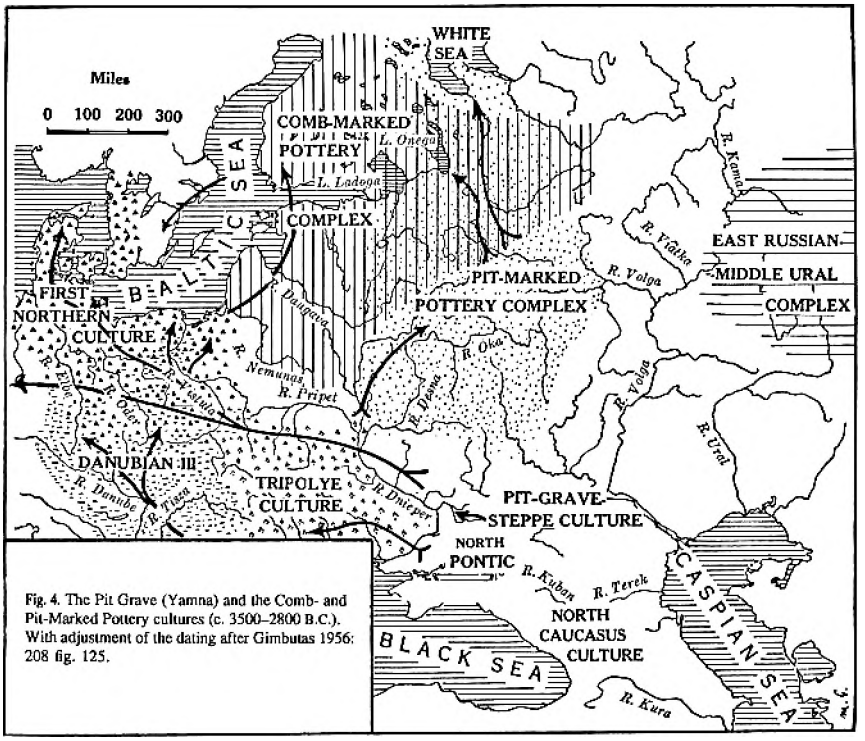


Fig. 4. The Pit Grave (Yamna) and the Comb- and Pit-Marked Pottery cultures (c. 3500–2800 B.C.). With adjustment of the dating after Gimbutas 1956: 208 fig. 125.

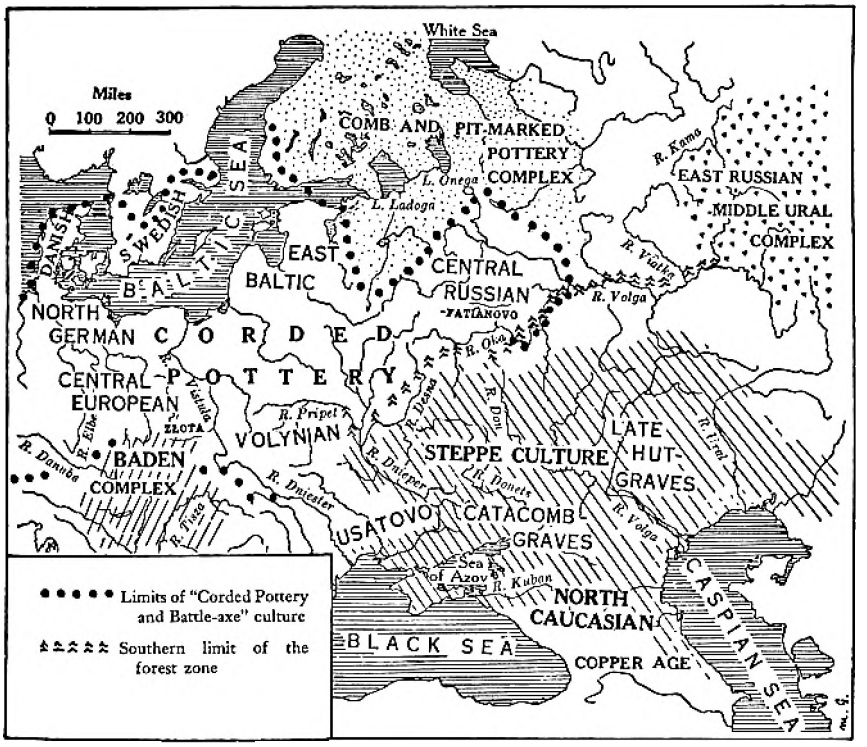


Fig. 5. The Hut Grave and Comb- and Pit-Marked Pottery cultures (c. 2800–2000 B.C.). With adjustment of the dating after Gimbutas 1956: 211 fig. 126.

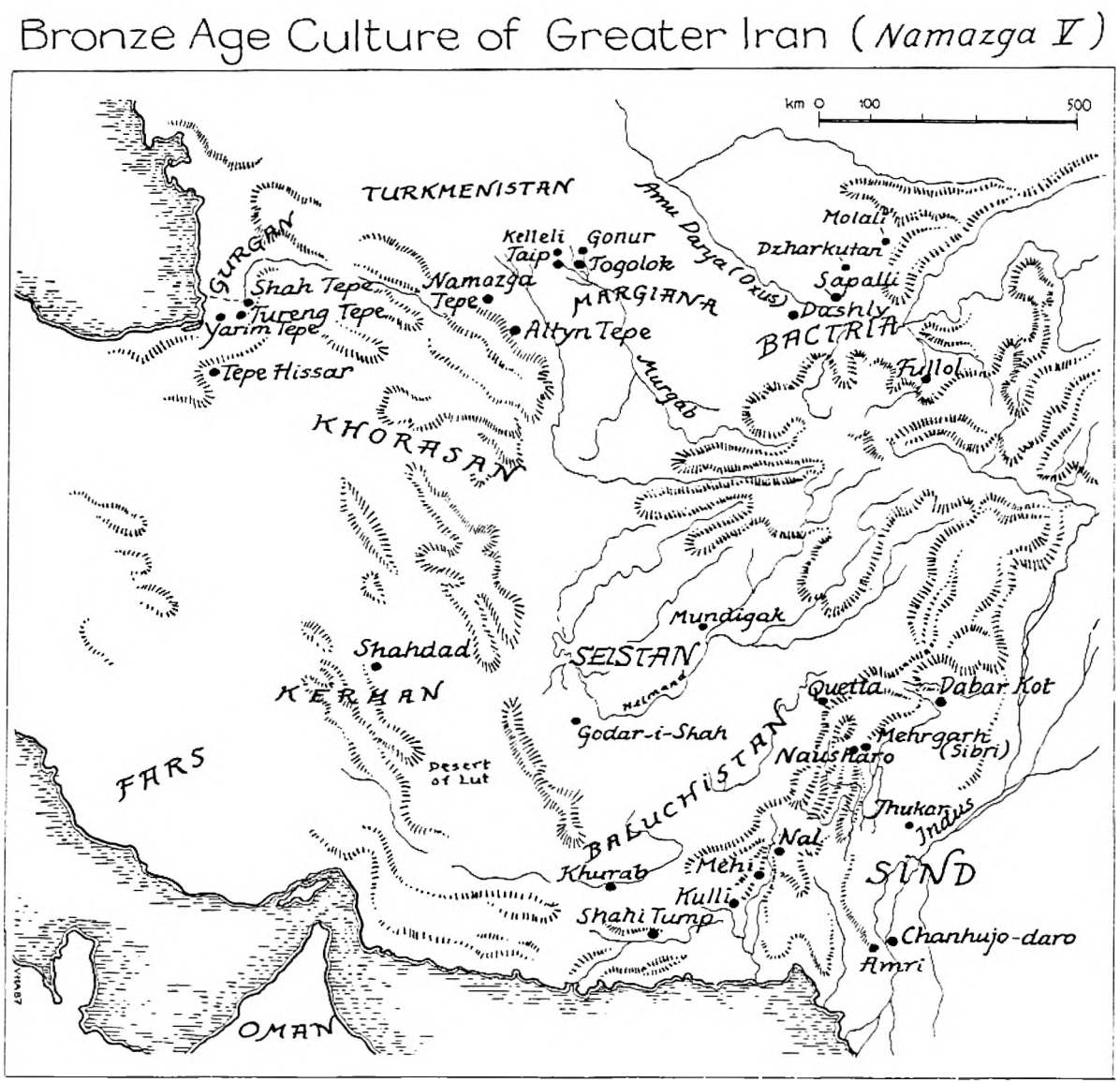

Bronze Age Culture of Greater Iran (Namazga V)
km 0 100 500
TURKMENISTAN
Amu Darya (Oxus)
GURGAN
Kelleli
Gonur
Taip
Togolok
Molali
Dzharkutan
Sapalli
Dashly
Namazga Tepe
Shah Tepe
Tureng Tepe
Yarim Tepe
Altyn Tepe
MARGIANA
BACTRIA
Murgab
Fullol
Tepe Hissar
KHORASAN
Mundigak
Shahdad
SEISTAN
KERMAN
Helmand
Quetta
Dabar Kot
Godar-i-Shah
Mehrgarh (Sibri)
Nausharo
FARS
desert of Lut
BALUCHISTAN
Jhukar
Indus
Nal
Khurab
Mehi
SIND
Kulli
Shahi Tump
Chanhujo-daro
Amri
OMAN

Fig. 6.

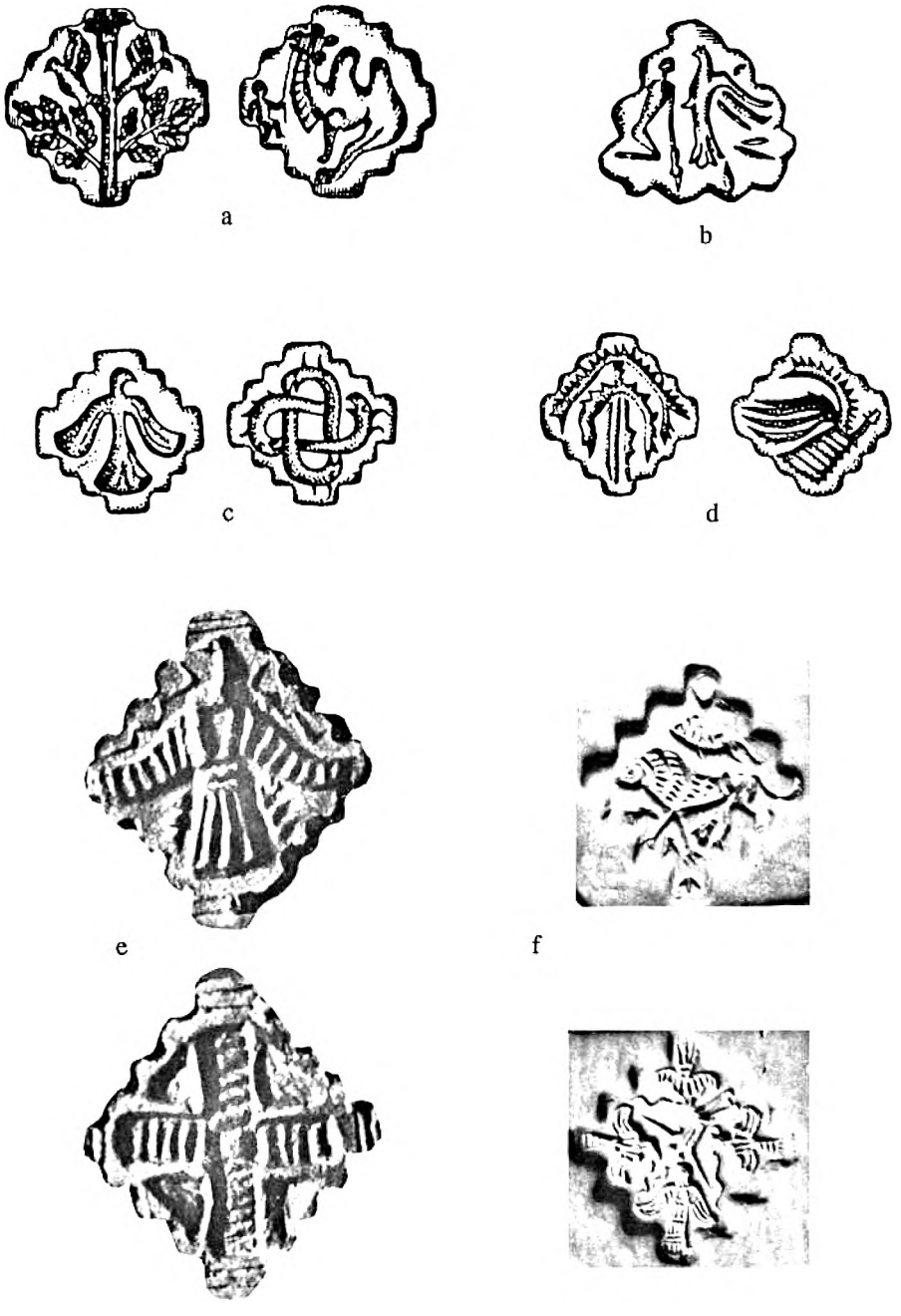


Fig. 7. Stepped seals representing the Bronze Age culture of Greater Iran. (a) After Sarianidi 1986b: fig. 8: 22. (b) After Sarianidi 1986b: Fig. 7: 7. (c) Gonur-1, Margiana, (Namazga VIa), made of dark brown stone.After Sarianidi 1986b: fig. 5: 3. (d) After Sarianidi 1986b: fig.5: 6. (e) Harappa. After Vats 1940: II pl. XCI: 255, and Brunswig et al. 1983: pl. III fig. 11. (f) Luristan (no context). After Amiet 1973, and Brunswig et al. 1983: pl. I fig. 5.

Fig. 8. Seals from Bactria and Margiana with the motifs of "eagle with spread wings", "griffin", "snake", and "goat". After Sarianidi 1986b: fig. 6: 21 (**a**), fig. 8: 21 (**b**), fig. 7: 12 (**c**), fig. 5: 9 (**d**), fig. 6: 19 (**e**), fig. 5: 14 (**f**), fig. 6: 22 (**g**), fig. 6: 16 (**h**), fig. 6: 23 (**i**), fig. 8: 16 (**j**), fig. 6: 25 (**k**), and Collon 1987: no. 597 (**l**).

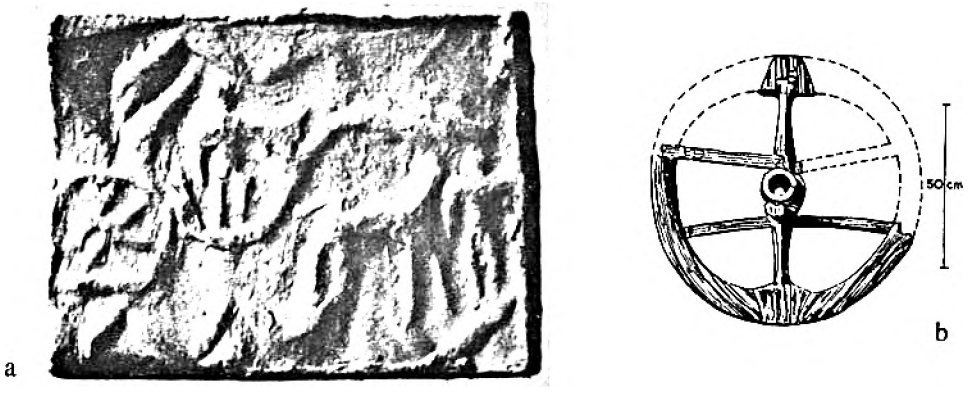


Fig. 9. (a) Cylinder seal from Tepe Hissar IIIB, Gurgan, Iran, made of alabaster. Horse-drawn chariot with two cross-bar wheels. After Littauer & Crouwel 1977: pl. IXb. Photo University Museum, Philadelphia. (b) A cross-bar wheel from Mercurago, northern Italy. Late Bronze Age. After Childe 1954b: 214 fig. 135.

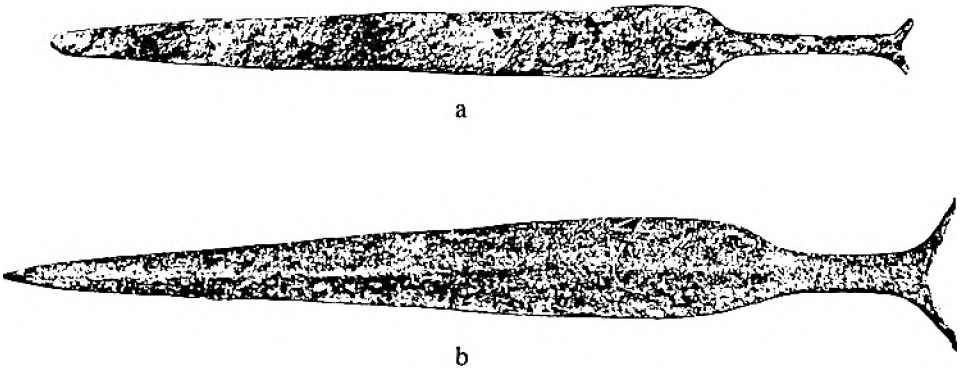


Fig. 10. Antennae hilted swords typical of the Gangetic Copper Hoards: (a) Bactria. Length 52 cm. After Sarianidi 1986a: 198 fig. 75. (b) Fatehgarh, Uttar Pradesh, India. Length 63,5 cm. British Museum. After Gordon 1960: pl. XXVII b.

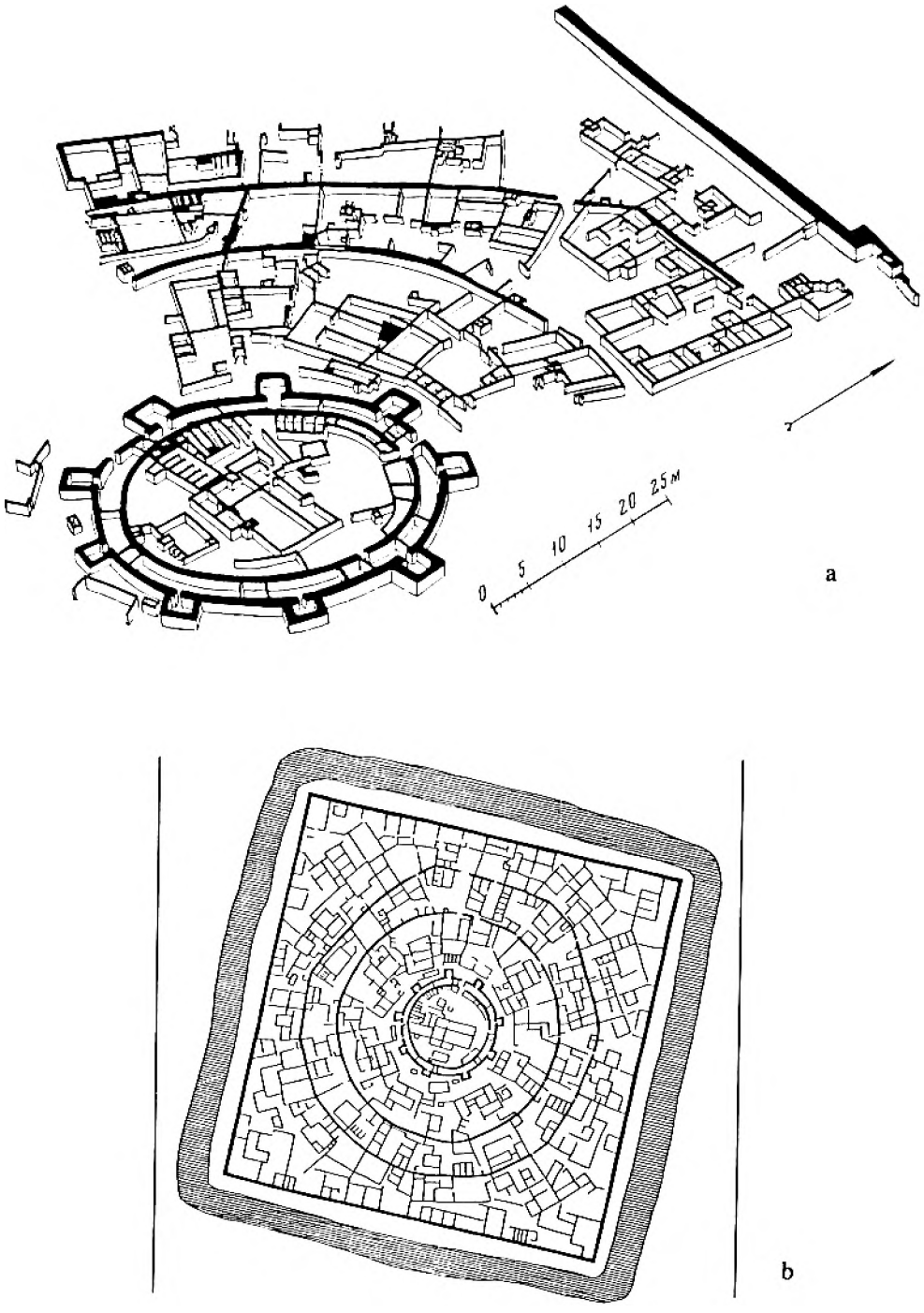


Fig. 11. Groundplan of the temple-fort in Dashly-3, Bactria. (a) After Sarianidi 1977: 38 ris. 13. (b) After Sarianidi 1986a: 59.

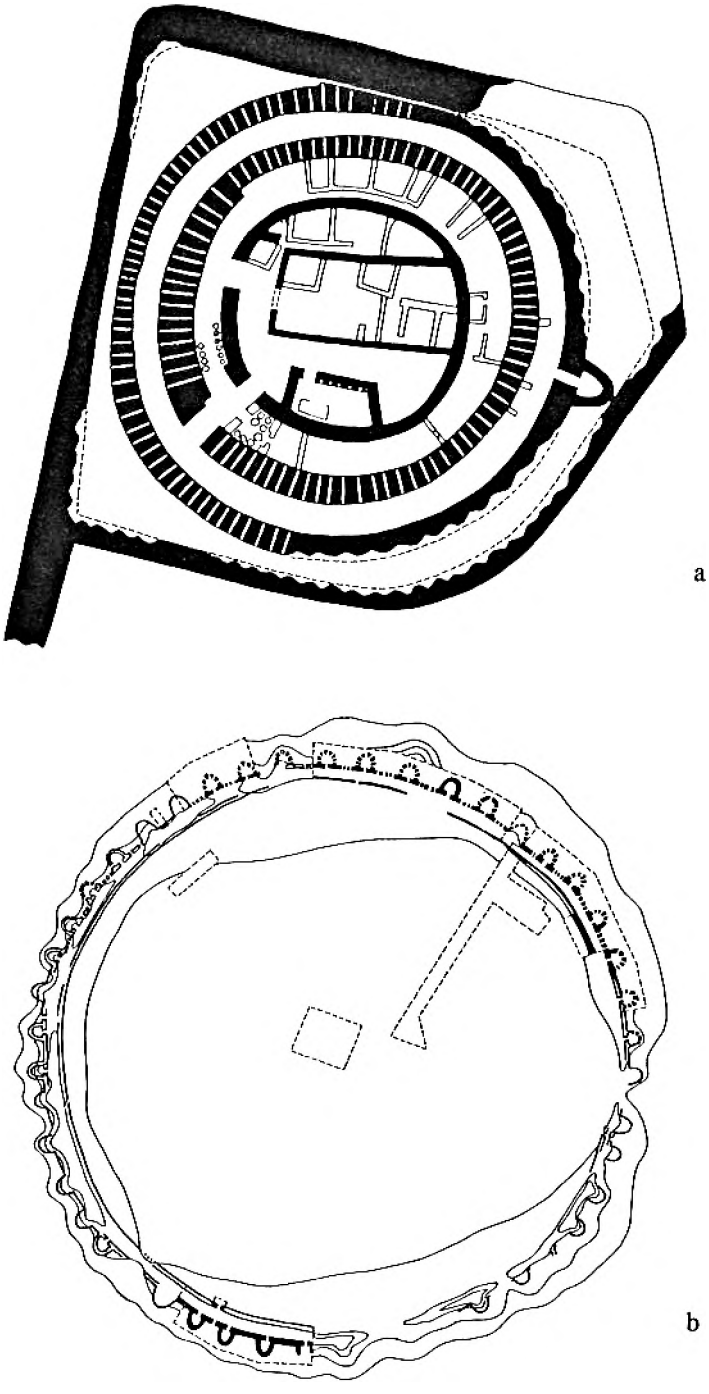


Fig. 12. Groundplans of two Achaemenid fortresses in Bactria. (a) Kutlug-Tepe. About 40 x 40 m. After Sarianidi 1986a: 73. (b) At-Tchapar. Diameter about 100 m. After Sarianidi 1986: 75.

Fig. 13. Stone mace-heads from Bactria
(a) Polished and engraved black stone. After Sarianidi 1986a: 160.
(b) Mace-head in the form of a horse's head. After Sarianidi 1986: 211.

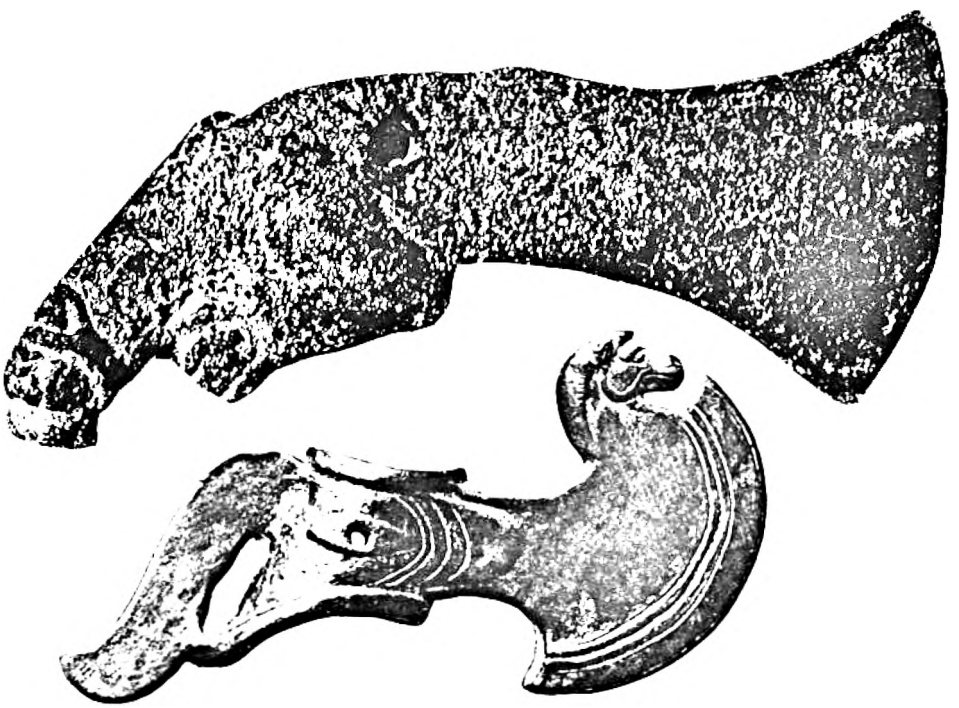


Fig. 14. Copper axe-heads from Bactria ornamented with animal figures.
(a) With horse. After Amiet 1986: 315 fig. 167.
(b) With panther. After Sarianidi 1986a: 203 pl. 82.

Fig. 15. Golden bowl with four wolves from Quetta, Baluchistan (Namazga V period). After Jarrige 1987b: 109 Abb. 85.

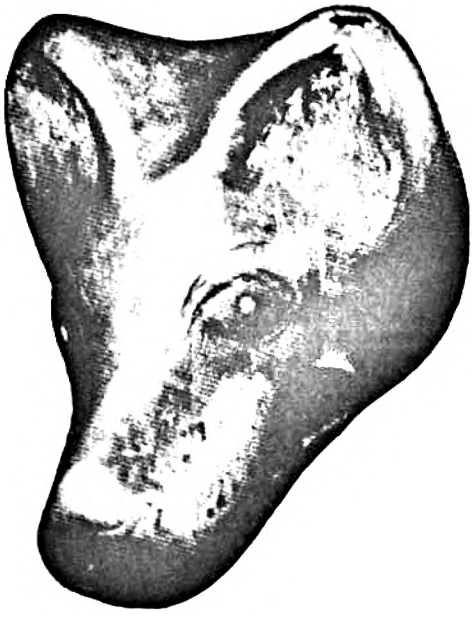


Fig. 16. Golden head of a wolf from Altyn Tepe, southern Turkmenistan. After Masson 1987: 197 pl. 4b

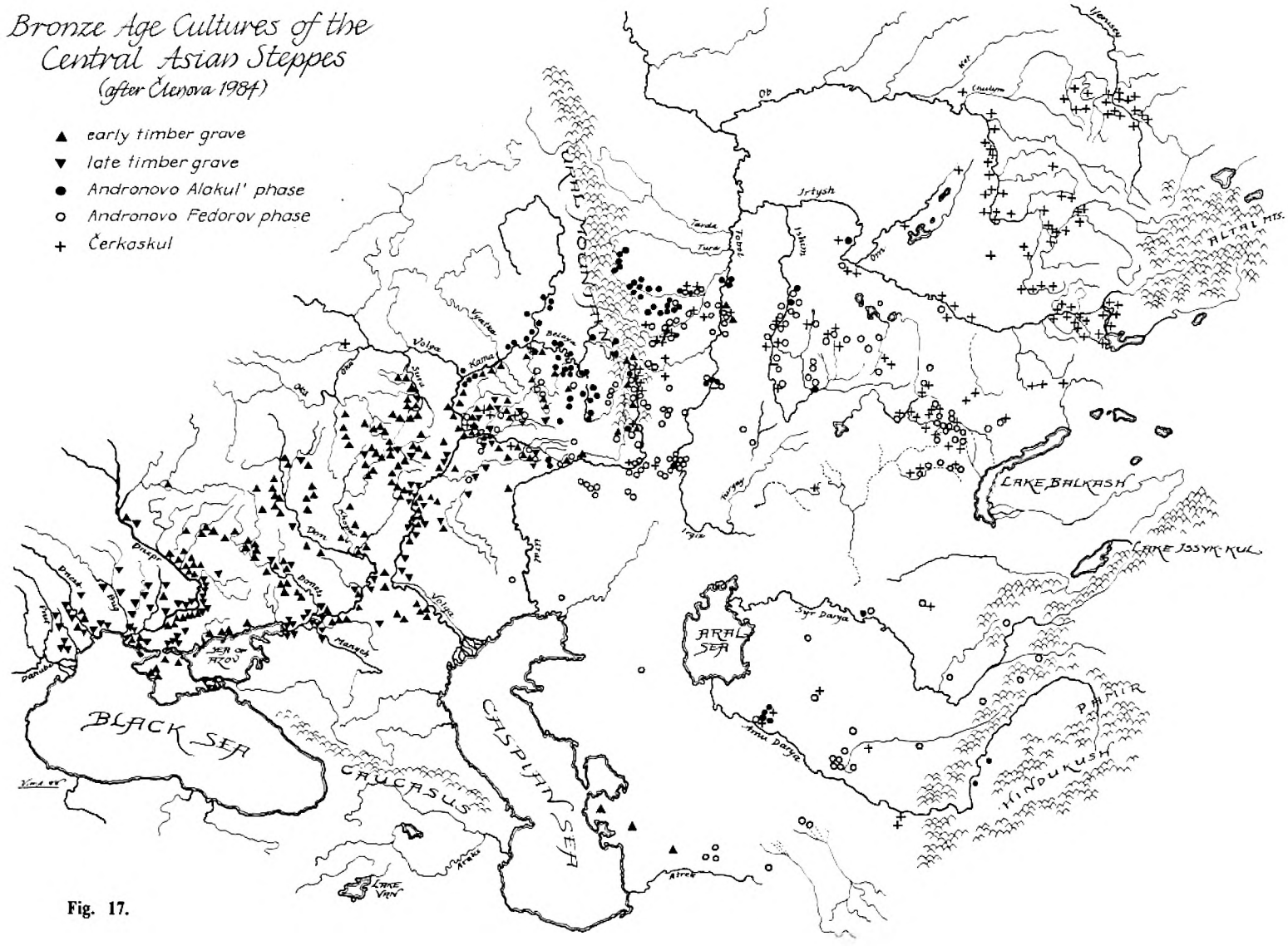

Bronze Age Cultures of the Central Asian Steppes
(after Členova 1984)
early timber grave
late timber grave
Andronovo Alakul' phase
Andronovo Fedorov phase
Čerkaskul
URAL MOUNTAINS
ALTAI MTS.
LAKE BALKASH
LAKE ISSYK-KUL
ARAL SEA
BLACK SEA
CAUCASUS
CASPIAN SEA
HINDUKUSH
PAMIR

Fig. 17.

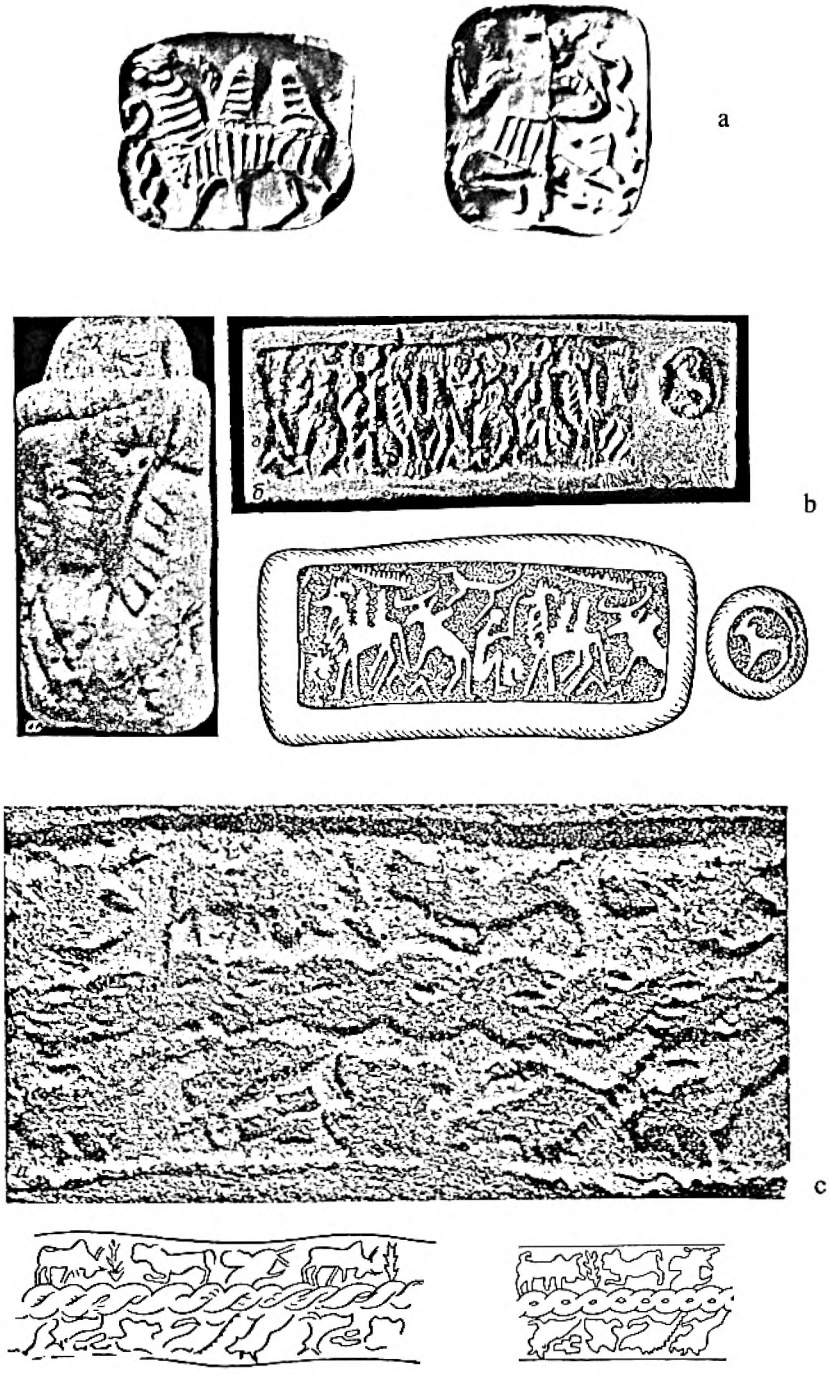


Fig. 18. Seals from Bactria and Margiana having parallels in northern Syria. (a) A rectangular seal with two-humped camel. After Amiet 1986: 321 fig. 189 c. (b) A cylinder seal with two-humped camel. Taip-Depe. After Masimov 1981: 144, ris. 9. (c) A cylinder seal with two registers divided by a plait. Taip-Depe. After Masimov 1981: 146, ris. 11 and Collon 1987: 143 no. 600.

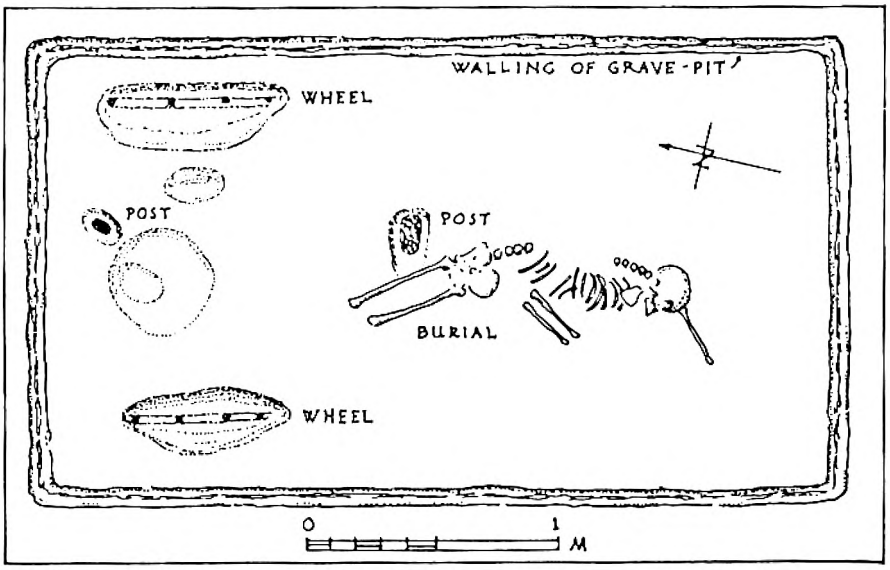


Fig. 19. A chariot burial at the Sintashta river cemetery, Chelyabinsk, southern Urals, USSR. Early Andronovo culture. After Piggott 1983: 92 fig. 47.

Fig. 20. Compartmental bronze seals.
(a) Bactria. After Sarianidi 1986a: 288. Cf. Amiet 1986: 320 fig. 187.
(b) Ordos, northwestern China. After Amiet 1986: 320 fig. 188.

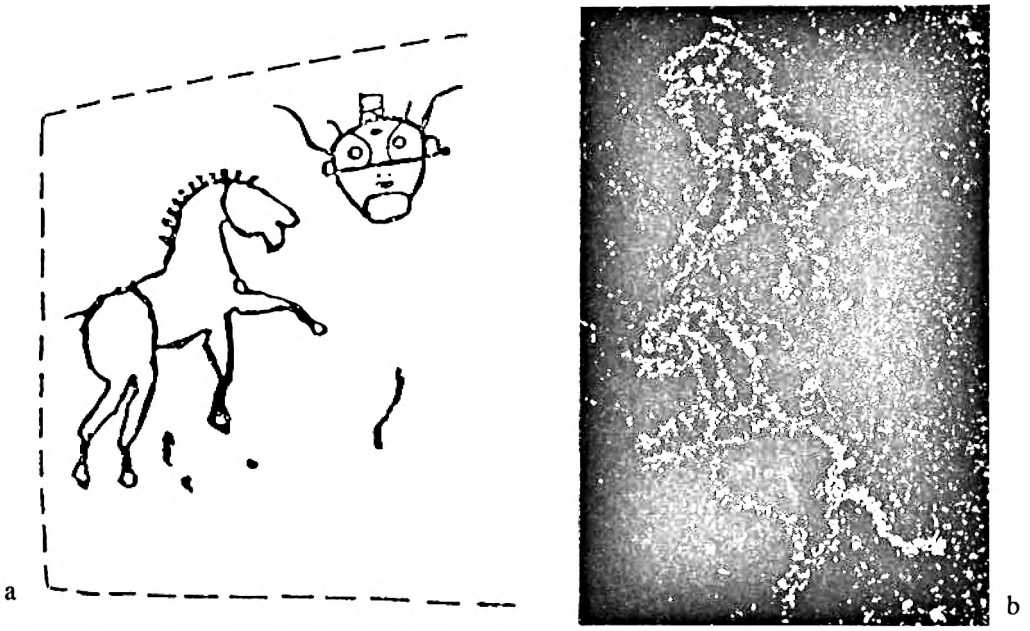


Fig. 21. Tazmin style jumping horses in petroglyphs. (a) Sulekskie devki, southern Siberia. After Vadetskaya & al. 1980: pl. LIII no. 127 in Jettmar 1985: II, 756 fig. 5. (b) Ziyārāt, Chilas, upper Indus, northern Pakistan. After Jettmar 1985: II, 756 fig. 4

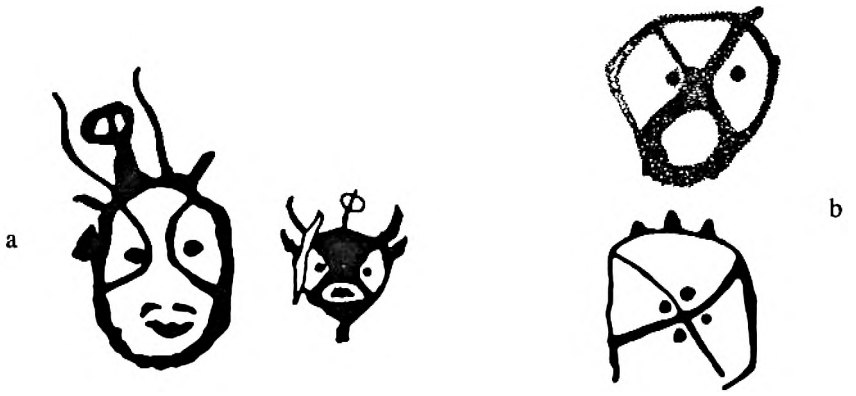


Fig. 22. Tazmin style horned faces in petroglyphs. (a) Mugur Sargol on the Yenisei, southern Siberia. After Detlev in Jettmar & Thewalt 1987:12. (b) Chilas, upper Indus, northern Pakistan. After Jettmar & Thewalt 1987: 12.

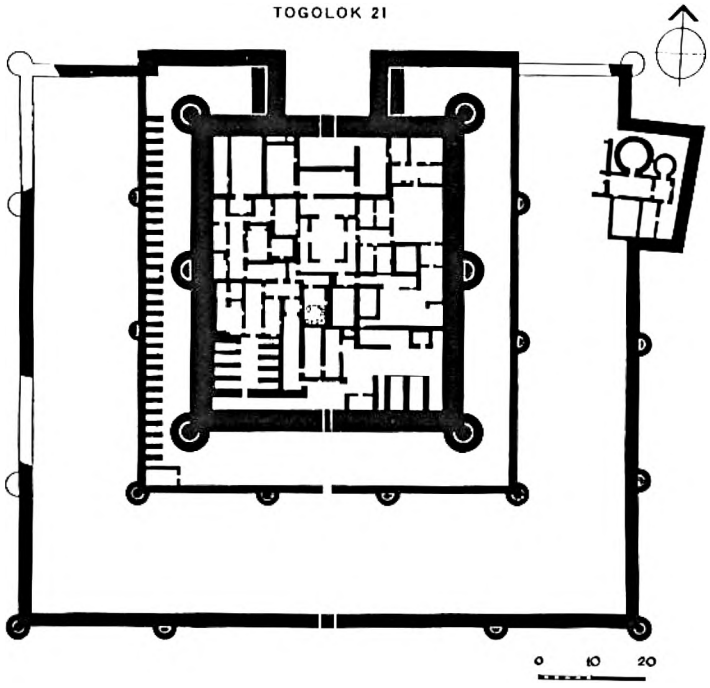


Fig. 23. Groundplan of the temple-fort of Togolok-21, Margiana. After Sarianidi 1987: 50, fig. 1.

a

b

Fig. 24. (a) Impression of a Harappan cylinder seal from Kalibangan depicting warriors and a goddess associated with the tiger. After Joshi & Parpola 1987: I, 311: K-65a. (b) Impression of a cylinder seal from Shahdad, depicting a goddess of fertility. After Amiet 1986: 300, fig. 136. Photo A. Hakemi.

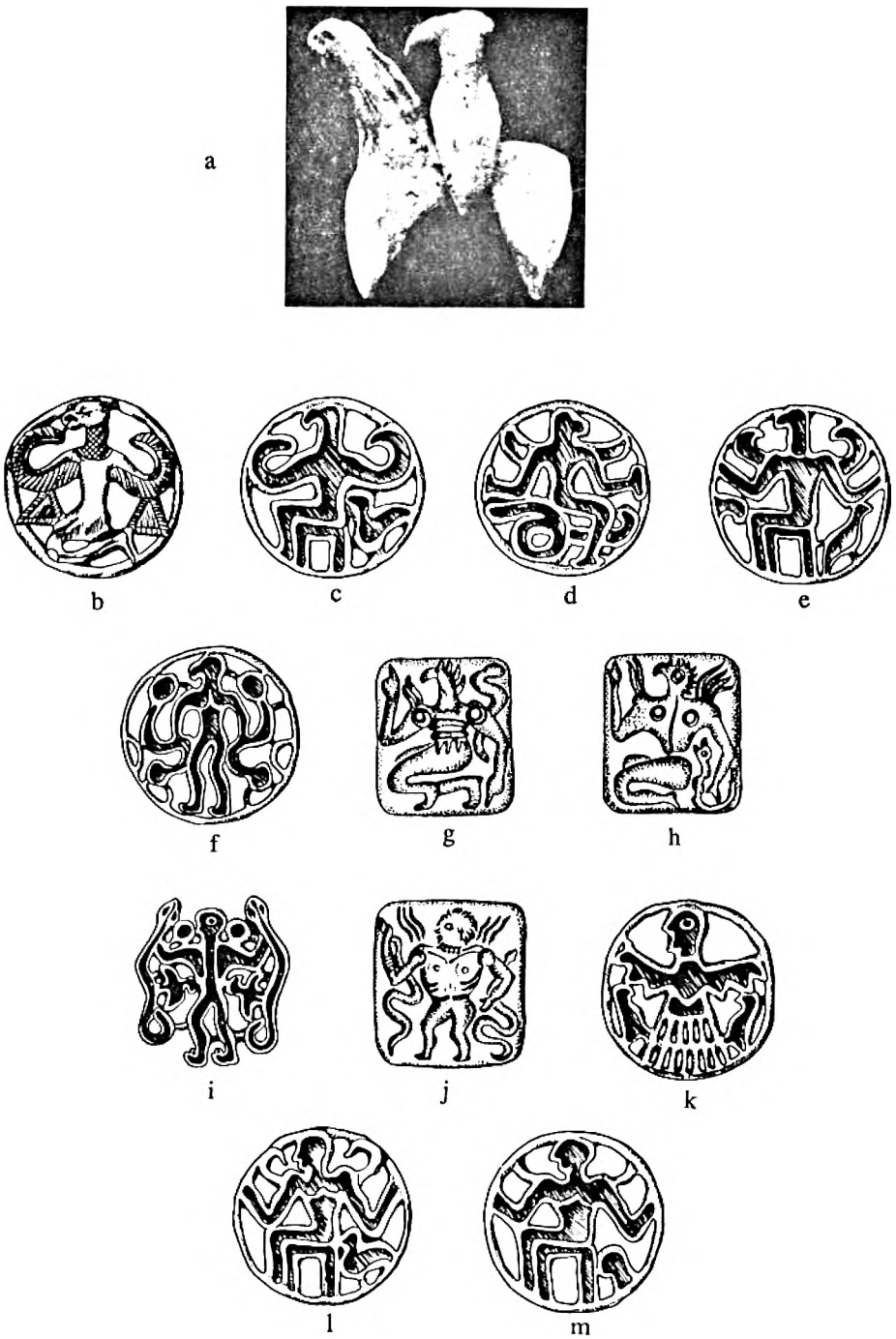


Fig. 25. (a) A terracotta statuette of an eagle-headed horse-rider from Pirak, Kachi plain near the Bolan pass, Pakistan. After Jarrige. (b-h) Eagle-headed deity depicted on seals and other objects of the Bronze Age culture of Greater Iran. After Sarianidi 1986b: fig. 1-2: nos. 21 (b), 5 (c), 8 (d), 1 (e), 16 (f), 23 (g), 24 (h). (i-m) Human-headed winged deity on Namazga V related seals evidently identical with the eagle-headed deity (note the flanking eagles). After Sarianidi 1986b: fig. 1-2: nos. 17 (i), 18 (j), 15 (k), 2 (l), 3 (m).

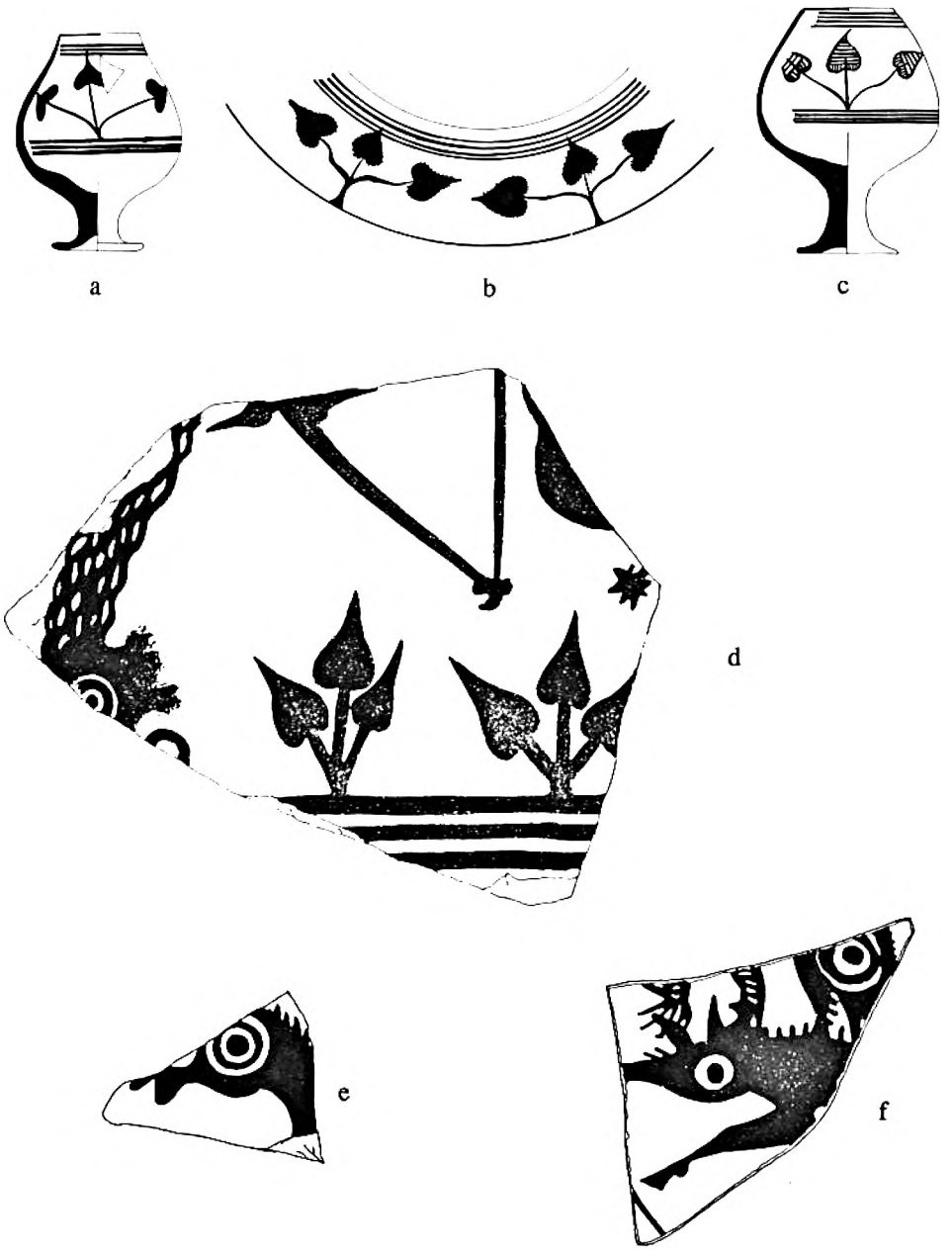


Fig. 26. (a-c) Painted pots from Mundigak IV,1, eastern Afghanistan, c. 2600 B.C. After Casal 1961: II, fig. 64, nos. 167 (a), 169 (b), 172 (c). A similar pot comes from the Mature Harappan Cemetery R 37 at Harappa (cf. Wheeler 1947: 107 & pl. XLVI: 6). (d-f) Black-on-red pottery from Bīr-kōṭ-ghwanḍai, Swat valley, northern Pakistan. Latter half of the Ghalegay IV period, c. 1600-1400 B.C. After Stacul 1987: 104, fig. 44: h (d), 106, fig. 46: f (e), h (f).

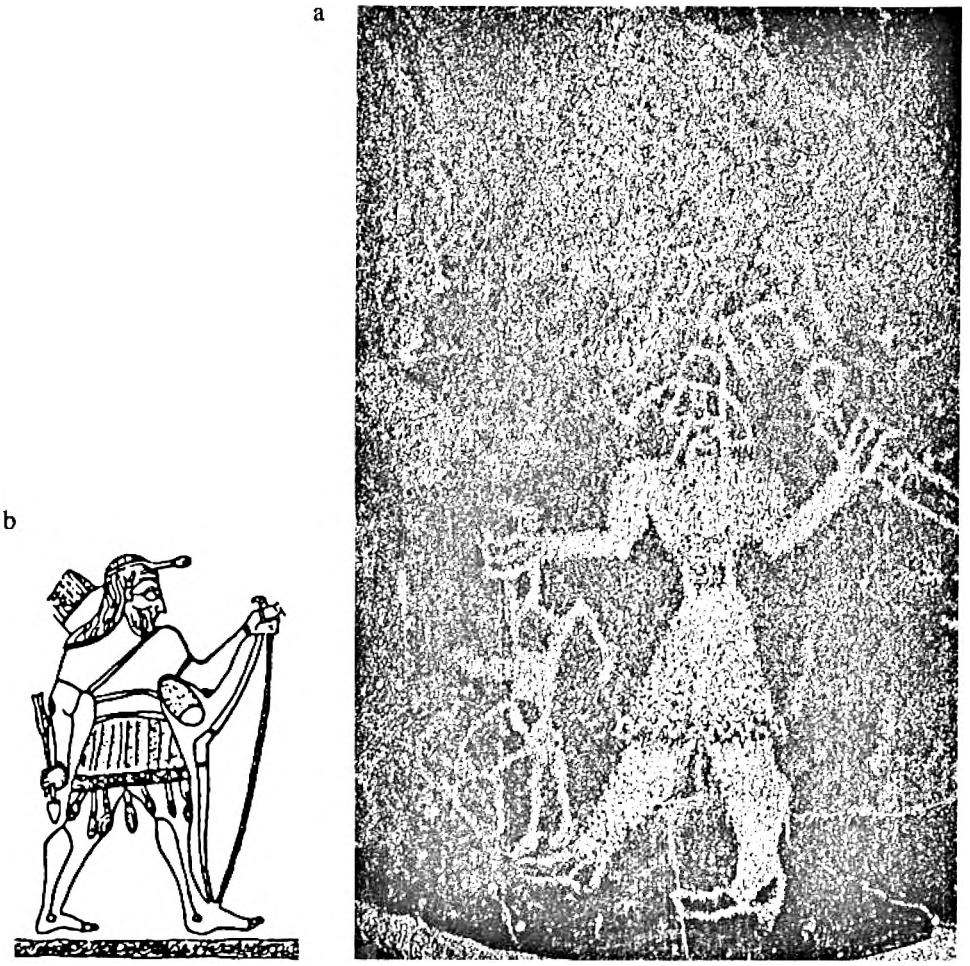


Fig. 27. (a) A West Iranian warrior in a petroglyph at Chilas, upper Indus, northern Pakistan. After Jettmar & Thewalt 1987: photograph 6, pl. 5. (b) A West Iranian warrior on a golden bowl from Hasanlu V, northwestern Iran. After Porada in Jettmar & Thewalt 1987: 13.

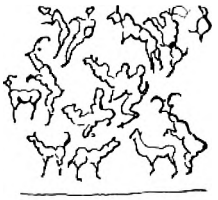
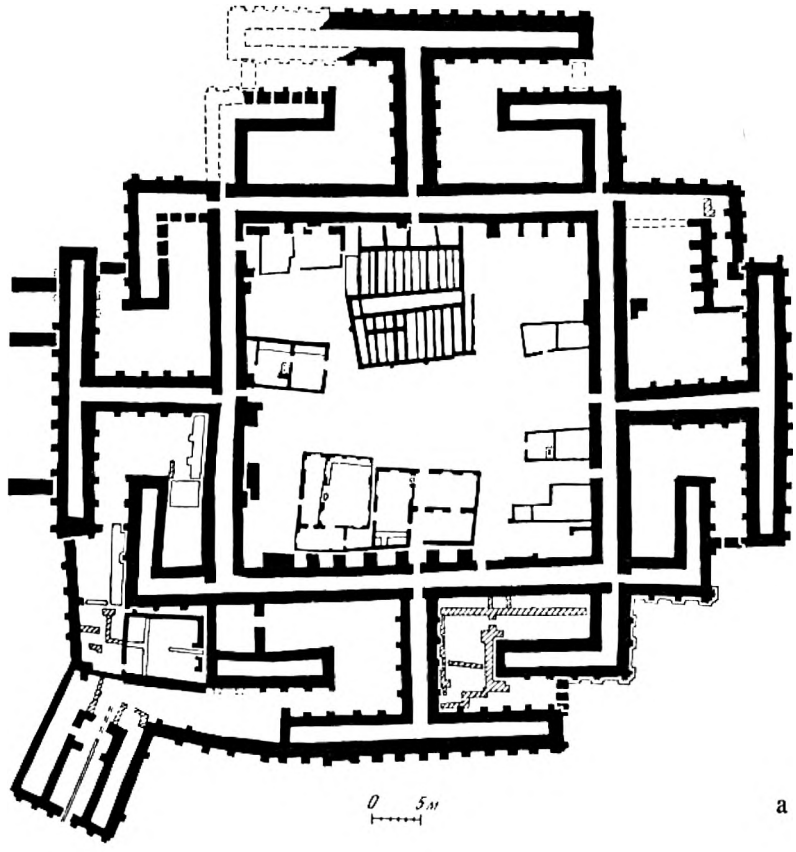


Fig. 28. A Bactrian cylinder seal with the motif of mating pairs of different beings. After Amiet 1986: 322 fig. 191 b.



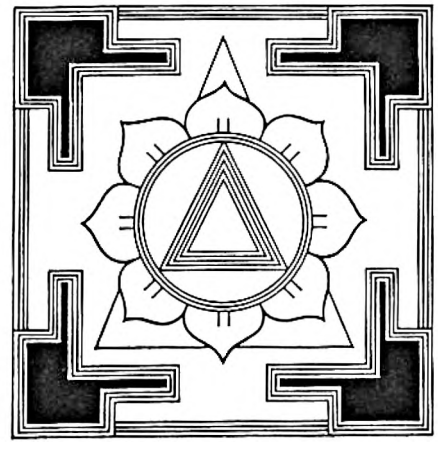


Fig. 29. (a) Groundplan of the "palace" in Dashly-3, Bactria. After Sarianidi 1986: 53. (b) A Tantric mandala. After Preston in Parpola 1985: fig. 24.

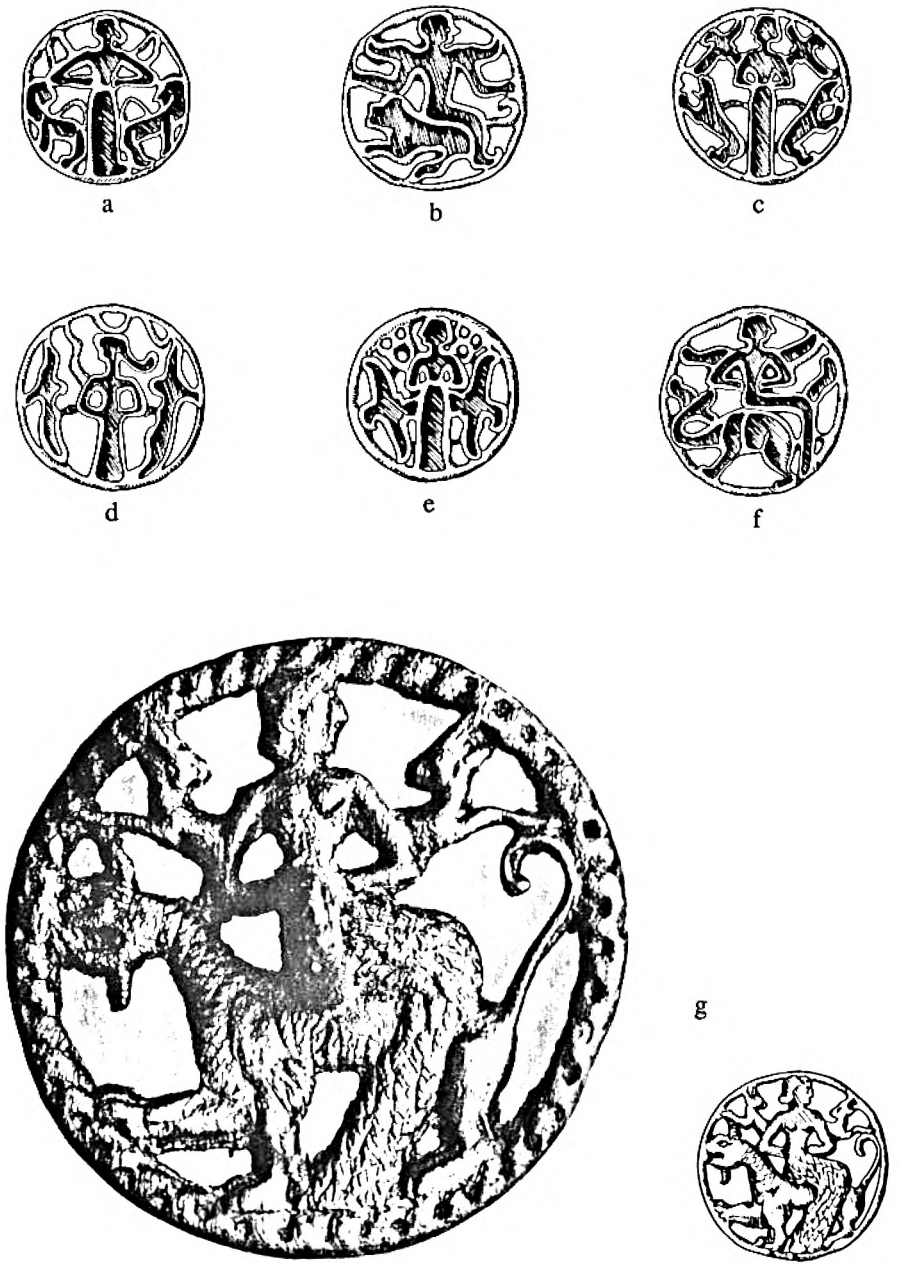


Fig. 30. Compartmental metal seals from Bactria with the motif of a goddess with lion(s) and/or eagles. The figure with extended arms (perhaps holding snakes represented by the edge of the seal) may actually represent the male god illustrated in fig. 25 b-m, for the arms of the goddess are otherwise always on the hips. After Sarianidi 1986b: 12-13, fig. 1-2: nos. 14 (a), 9 (b), 12 (c), 11 (d), 13 (e), 7 (f), and Pottier 1980: pl. I (g) .

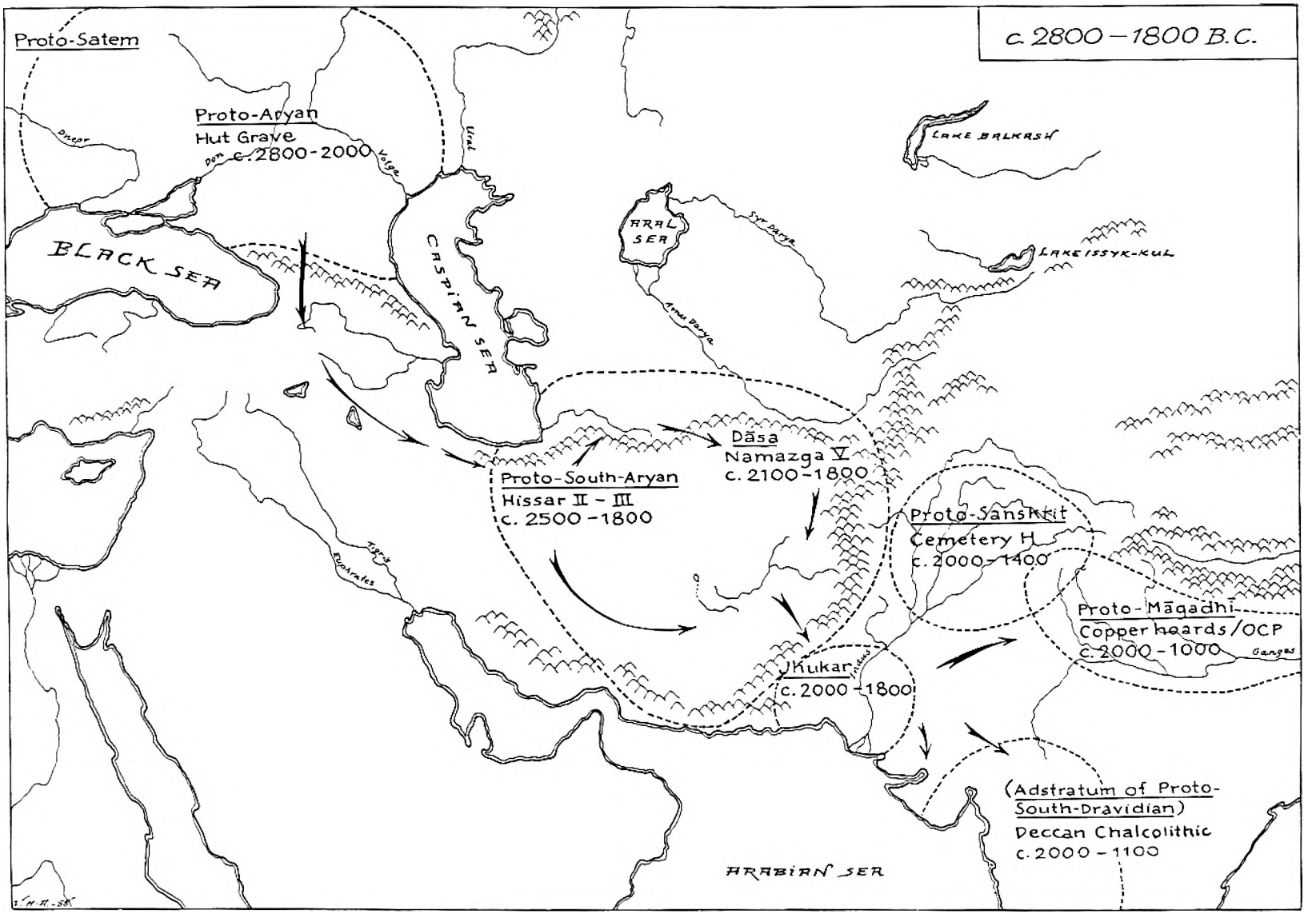


Fig. 31. Formation of the Aryan branch of Indo-European I (c. 2800–1800 B.C.).

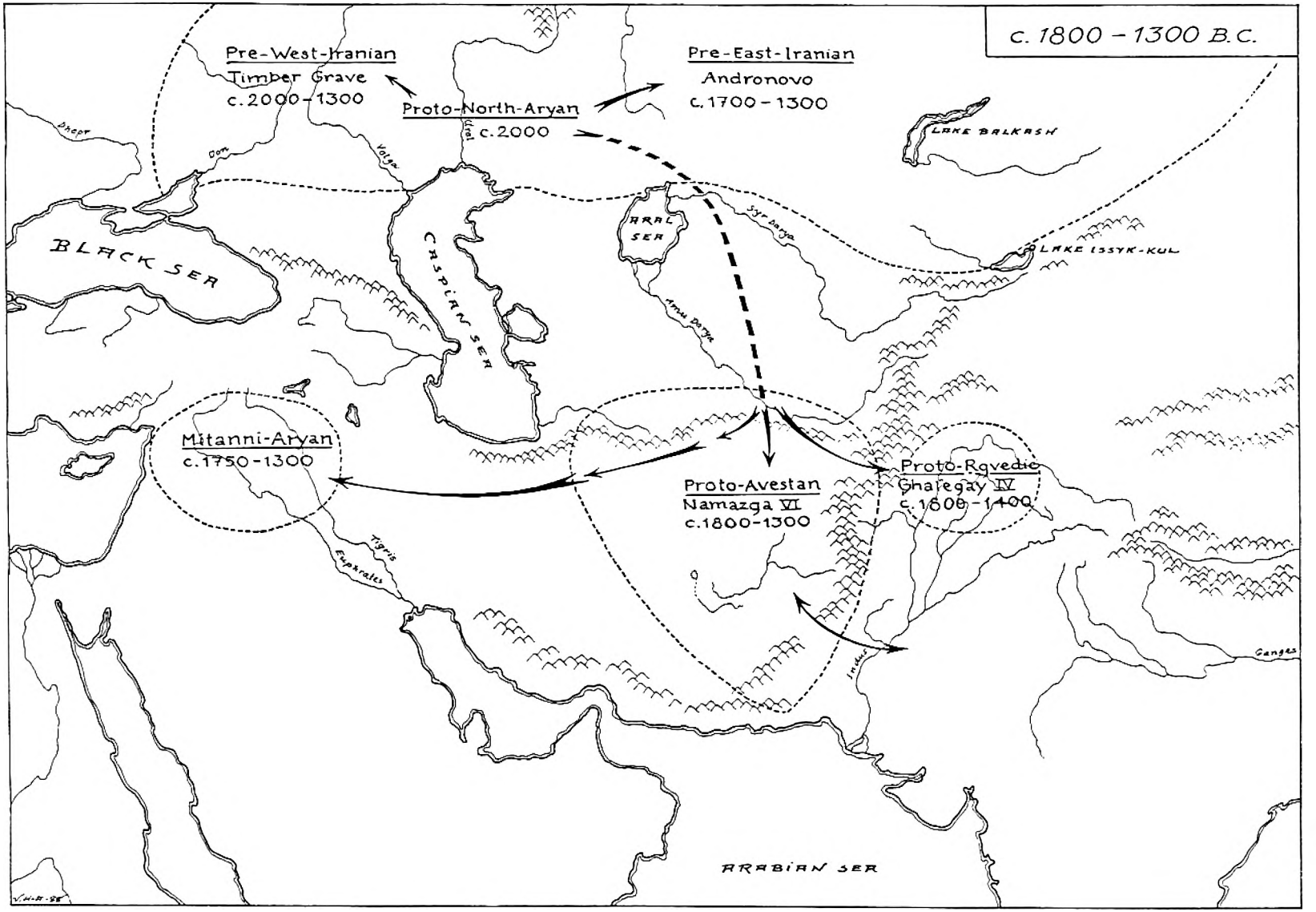


Fig. 32. Formation of the Aryan branch of Indo-European II (c. 1800–1300 B.C.).

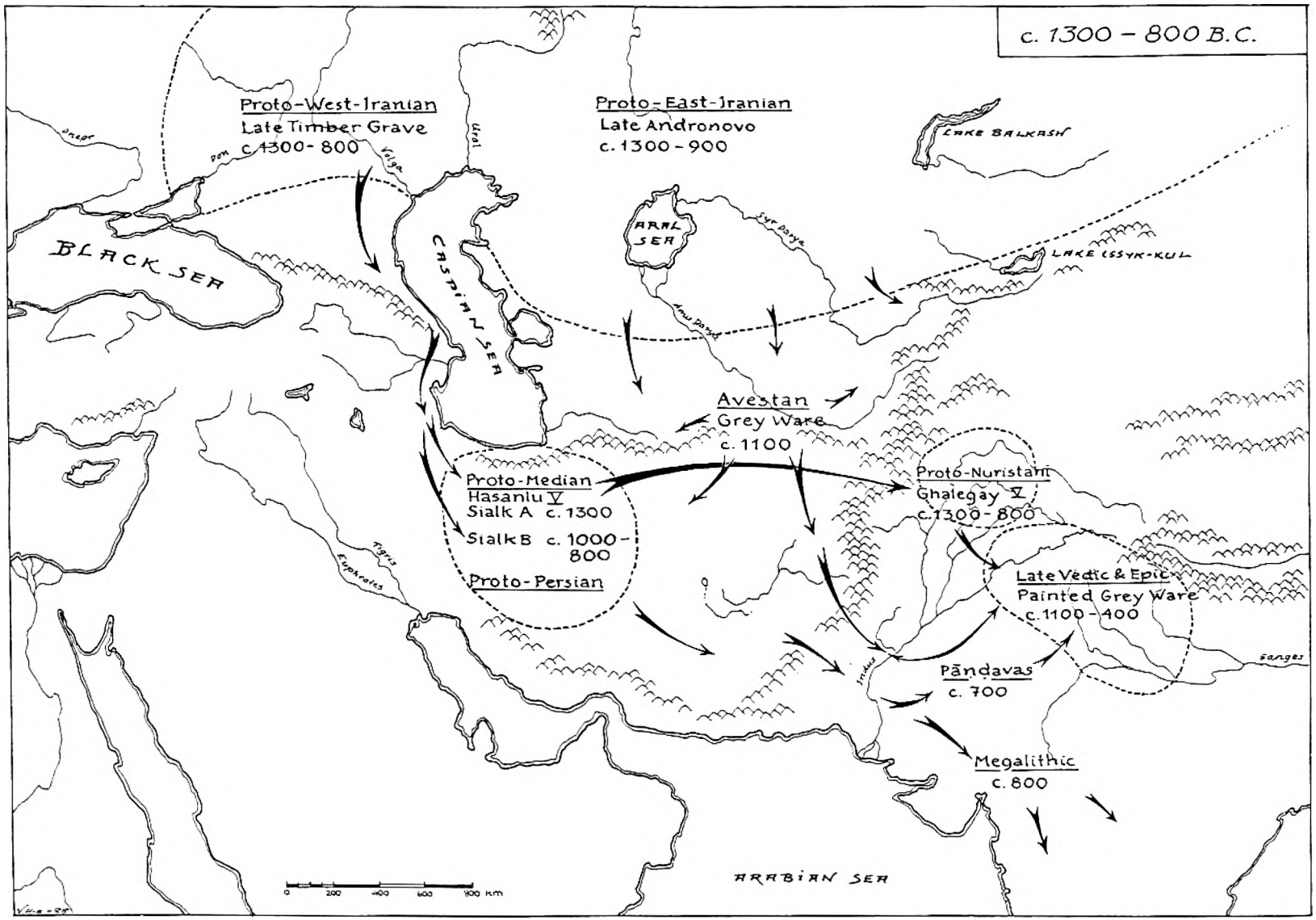


Fig. 33. Formation of the Aryan branch of Indo-European III (c. 1300–800 B.C.).